the ALTERNATIVE

February, 1973 Volume 6 Number 5 Price (.25)

A Quiet Moment with Averell Harriman

see page 15

New in This Issue:

Perspectives

Gary North on the Family

David Brudnoy on Homosexuality

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the ALTERNATIVE

to bare the witness and the truth

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Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin — and yes, sex, even sex.

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The Continuing Crisis

DEATHS: On December 26 President Harry S Truman laid down his burden, and, as with so many other of his actions, it was probably prudent. His horn-rimmed glasses and his Scottish Rite 33rd degree Masonic ring were buried with his body, but his grandmaster's Masonic apron was removed just before the casket was sealed. Mr. Walter E. (Jack) Rollins who wrote "Peter Cottontail" and "Frosty the Snowman" along with 500 other popular cantatas also went forth to disport with the saints. It was the most calamitous year in over forty years for the Whooping Cranes. Eight failed to arrive in their Texas wintering grounds. Mr. Roberto Clemente died in an air accident while on a mercy mission to Nicaragua. Ex-Prime Minister Lester Pearson of Canada and *Life* also passed away. In Franksville, Wisconsin, Mr. Helmer Haakenson drowned in a vat of sauerkraut on December 26. And in Bombay, India, seven ditch diggers perished under thick layers of molasses when one of them pierced a vat of the deadly liquid. Finally, it is with deep regret that we note the passing of Mrs. Lillian Madden, the first woman president of Falls City Brewing Company. She was 74.

NUPTIALS AND NATALITIES: Thirty-five-year-old Miss Jane Fonda, lecturer, will marry as will seventy-two-year-old Miss Paola Borboni, the Italian stag film star. Miss Fonda is taking the hand of Mr. Tom Hayden, the celebrated anti-war demonstrator, and Miss Borboni is marrying thirty-year-old Brono Vilar, the renowned Roman poet. On December 26 Mao Tse-tung, poet, statesman, and humanitarian, was 79.

PROGRESS IN THE THIRD WORLD: Thai women have been warned to wear bras. A booklet of the UN Trusteeship Council is being published in "Pidgin English." The City Council of Oudts Orrn, South Africa has ordered that it is a "nuisance" to keep corpses anywhere other than in a mortuary, and in Port Moresby, Papua constructive criticism offered concerning the low-grade quality of pigs given as payment for a bride ignited a tribal battle in which one warrior perished, forty were injured, and seventy-six houses were destroyed. The distinguished humanist and president of Central African Republic, Jean Bedel Bokassa, announced that tax evaders will be imprisoned as will "vagabonds" and "idlers," which is to say persons "without fixed addresses and persons not attending school or having regular paid employment." On December 20 rescuers reached the sixteen survivors of that Andes plane crash where it was discovered that the survivors had resorted to cannibalism to survive, an action judged as justifiable by Mr. Austin Vaughan and the Rev. William Smith. Both are theologians from Saint Joseph Seminary in Yonkers, New York. In Singapore civil libertarians and prudes have become agitated over the government's declared in-

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Editorial I

Smartening Up the Chumps

Raise a stein! As the bell rings for 1973, the hardpressed members of the civilized minority have been granted a collective reprieve from the New Age, an age of milk and honey and high purpose whose dawn has been brassily heralded since the mid-1960s, yet an age whose dawn has failed to dawn.

Merriment and good cheer tickle the atmosphere in every refuge of civilized society. And the more sensible varieties of Republicans and Democrats are again breathing normally. But what of the panjandrums of the New Age? What of the epigones of seventeenth-century Puritanism? What of that element of American society that dreams of flying carpets, a franchise boom for Health, Education and Welfare, playgrounds for all mankind, and gaiety, always gaiety? What of the fey slobs who live in caves and feast on universities?

Well about them an eerie sough pervades. The screeds of apocalypse and sin have subsided to a mere rumble of incoherence. And what we hear is the sound of bafflement. It could be the great Clod Populist himself, muttering that Americans "were the real losers" when they shoved him over the edge. Possibly it is the new Darrow, Herr Kunstler, yowling about repressed brats, genocide, and worse. Or perhaps it is one of those gassed-up hags bemoaning the tyranny of her glands. It is hard to say, for the ringing eloquence of yesterday is no more.

The discourses of the radicals and of the Ritualistic Liberals have lost velocity and direction; desperation can sustain only so much so long, and then even the fanatics of Puritan Chic begin to doubt. If my observations of the American asylum are correct, doubt is beginning to sink into the yokels of Puritan Chic and though it would be premature to send them to the embalmers, it is safe to diagnose their present condition as one of very grave befuddlement, induced by doubt. The prognosis is uncertain. From their sick beds all we hear is a delirious chorus of declarations about WAR, GENOCIDE, IMPERIALISM, MORALITY, SEXISM, THE YOUNG, LIBERATION, and REFORM. They maunder endlessly about such spicy stuff but, alas, no healthy American seems to give a piffle or a damn. And now at the end of their latest crusade for justice, even the most intrepid of the dreamers is beginning to yield to the vectors of doubt.

And well they should. Many of those who marched for peace and liberation and visions of sugar plums wore holes in their shoes, while their leaders rode in limousines and amassed ample fortunes at the expense of their gullible brothers and sisters. Stokely Carmichael would still be a small-time bunko man were it not for the show business he made of civil rights, and much the same can be said for celebrities like Jerry Rubin, David Dellinger, the Berrigan duo, and the author, Charles Reich, LL.D., J.D. But for every one of these prosperous charlatans, there lies rotting the corpse of one of their bird-witted followers who committed his very life to their tommyrot, and thousands more are not much better off.

For some, that old familiar feeling of having been taken for a ride is starting to creep in, and for these oafs this past election period must have been especially glum. These are the sad wretches who have gone through their entire lives wearing clothes, faces, and ideas that never quite fit. They are the butt of every hot-foot, the object of every horselaugh, the perpetual butterfingers. Comedians portray them as poor souls and then howl at their botches. Good Samaritans offer them a hand but shake their heads at the ensuring burlesque. Even the Red Cross can do nothing for them. These congenital dupes put their trust in the Clod Populist and his movement for the New Age. Under his reign the fat would melt from the blowzy womenfolk. They would become professional baseball players, bankers, and brain surgeons. They would rise to high places in the new government, and men would admire them. But now the slow burn is setting in — once again they have been had.

Perhaps some of you feel that I exaggerate the excesses of the late 1960s, Puritan Chic, and the PR men of the New Age. As we bask in the Age of Nixon, it is possible that you have managed to suppress your memories of the promised glories. But I remember those gorgeous days in all their furious flatulence. Though the advocates of the New Age were dealing with serious matters, they always managed to approach them with flared nostrils and flailing arms. Rationality was the weapon of the Devil, a manifestation of insincerity and inertia. To be numbered amongst the just, one's utterances had to be lurid, abusive, or oleaginous. The result was an odd illusory rhetoric whose fundamental element was exaggeration. It was a grand revival of the American tradition of the tall tale, with the astonishing difference that these people were actually in earnest. What is more, they sprayed guilt around as though it were disinfectant.

How well I recall Camelot's claim that seventeen million Americans lived in poverty. Then Old Beagle Ears waved his magic wand, doubled the power of the state, and by the middle of his fated reign, the number of poor had jumped to thirty-four million. Then there was that report made famous by the intelligentsia over at *The New Republic* and *The Nation* to the effect that thirty-seven million Americans were dying of starvation. Further investigation indicated that starvation was really another thespian misnomer for inadequate nutrition. The problem was really how to get a family of imbeciles off a diet of Coca-Cola and potato chips, and that is, given our vestigial scruples about individual freedom, a difficult demand to place on social policy.

Nevertheless, the corrosive effect of these earlier indictments of America began to take hold, and increasing numbers of Americans began to hate their country and exalt in the exquisite vapors of guilt. Intoxicated further by each rhetorical enormity they confected, they had leapt right out of this world by 1960 and they were ardently speaking the wildest nonsense. Politicians and pundits swallowed it whole, and the public discourse teemed with canards. For a whole season idiots went around the country claiming a great police conspiracy had taken the lives of thirty or so virtuous Black Panthers. Edward Epstein exposed the tale as a hoax but no one paid much attention, for there were soon even more thrilling allegations hurled against America. Moral enthusiasm became seasonal. The earnest talk turned to American imperialism, genocide, and mass repression. Student thugs, racist thugs, and religious thugs all had their day.

Then suddenly the Dark Ages. It became unsafe to burn libraries, disrupt

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Editorial II

Uncharitable Students

Students entering the Eliot House dining room at Harvard College pass by, before going through the cafeteria line, a table manned by a variety of students passing out a variety of literature. The mimeographed and xeroxed sheets and occasional printed pamphlets available for the edification of Harvard students are usually either boring (house athletic schedules), quaint (political broadsides), or offensive (questionnaires for personality development courses). But since they can serve to take the student's mind off what he is eating, most of us are happy to receive almost any handout.

When early in December I was handed a small pamphlet (one of those six-page pamphlets on one sheet of paper that unfolds) for the "Harvard-Radcliffe Combined Charities," it made my day (such are days, or at least my days, at Harvard in the winter): for this pamphlet was sufficiently long to occupy me for much of dinner, and sufficiently irritating to distract me from working for much of the rest of the evening (it doesn't take much).

The first page of the pamphlet began with the welcome information that "The Harvard-Radcliffe Combined Charities resumes this fall after a three-year hiatus." It continued, in a reasonable fashion: "Under the auspices of the Committee on Houses and Undergraduate Life (the CHUL —An official Harvard student body), the Charity Drive has redirected its thrust from international and national charities to those more closely related to the Cambridge community." The pamphlet continued: "The coordinators of the Drive felt that it was difficult for one to discern between the mammoth national and international charities. Moreover, the donations of students should not go for light bulbs, fancy stationery, and

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executive directors. People like to see their donations utilized in active causes." How did the CHUL choose which of many "active causes" Harvard students were to be encouraged to contribute to? "Members of the Harvard community have long felt that they have been abusing the urban area which surrounds the University. The Combined Charities Drive is one of the few ways that students at Harvard can give something back to the community." The CHUL chose to "solicit for those organizations which are too actively involved in their own cause to go out and raise funds themselves."

The CHUL selected five such busy community organizations, each of which was given a few paragraphs in the pamphlet to describe itself and make its plea for money (the students could either have their money evenly distributed among the five, or could specify a recipient). One of the five organizations selected was predictable: Harvard's own social help organization, the Phillips Brooks House, which is involved in a variety of programs such as teaching prisoners, helping poor people renovate their apartments, and the like. The other four organizations to receive money from the Combined Charities Drive were:

The Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students. "The Association's goal has been to promote mutual understanding and friendship among ourselves....The main theme of Afro this year is unity. Our main project to further this cause is a Coffee Shop-Grill."

Education for Action (E4A). "...a student-run organization which has been helping undergraduates involved in social change....We annually fund thirty to forty Harvard-Radcliffe undergraduates for an average of $350 each." E4A serves as a clearinghouse at Harvard for literature on "alternatives to education, women's consciousness, prison work, counter-professions, consumer's rights, Appalachia, ecology, vocations for social change, communes." E4A's other main activity is "workshops": "This fall we have sponsored informal talks by the Law Commune and by a Radcliffe Institute Fellow on Franz Fanon, as well as a videotape of Dr. Joshua Horn on medical work in China."

United Farm Workers. Money is needed for "The farmworkers' efforts to gain self-determination."

Hard Times. This Cambridge organization's activities include organizing tenants into unions and producing a "community newspaper." Hard Times "will provide leadership around community issues. Through these issues we hope to develop a real working-class political consciousness in the Cambridge area."

Now it should be evident that none of these organizations (excepting the Phillips Brooks House) is a charity—and in fact, none describes itself as a charity. Afro and E4A are organizations of Harvard students who deal mainly (in E4A's case, only) with other Harvard students; calling a Coffee Shop-Grill or grants for Harvard students charitable purposes, and implying that giving money to Afro or E4A would be "giv(ing) something back to the community" is a bit farfetched. The UFW is a union, perhaps a somewhat special one, but certainly having little to do with the Cambridge urban community Harvard is "exploiting." Hard Times is a political organization. But of course all have, at least implicity, mostly explicity, the "proper" political position. This seems to have been a considerably more important criterion for selection for the Combined Charities than whether the organizations were in fact charities.

One does not know whether to laugh at, cry over, or be nauseated by all of this. The whole thing is too trivial and silly to be an outrage, and too transparent to spend much time discussing. But it is distressing. For if the better nature of many Harvard students were tapped, some genuine charities and needy people could benefit. There are many of us who will give if asked or prodded, but who are not likely to take the time to give on our own. An opportunity to coax a few dollars from hundreds of students for charity has been utterly wasted.

Yet the CHUL, who wasted this opportunity, has not been "captured" by any radical minority. As it happens at Harvard radicals boycott all official university committees. CHUL representatives (one from each of the thirteen Houses) are, as far as I can judge, relatively typical Harvard students (insofar as the types who run for a college committee that makes suggestions to the administration about such things as the correct male-female ratio in the houses are typical). In any case, they are well-meaning people, and far closer to being preppies than Commies. It was this rather ordinary and typical group of Harvard students who selected the Combined Charities.

For the past three years, in a period when Harvard students have never been more genuinely if abstractly "concerned" about and aroused by social problems, there has been no Combined Charities at Harvard. Now, when it returns, it comes back as a vehicle of facile ideological self-gratification. Perhaps many Harvard students spend too much time trying to change the world or talking about changing the world to bother with charities. They may feel they have already far surpassed their quota of righteous behavior, or at least righteous feeling. These students hurry past—sometimes mock—the small Salvation Army contingent in Harvard Square. The Salvation Army does not develop consciousness, create unity, or work for social change. It only helps people. I am willing to wager that its name was never mentioned at the CHUL meeting that chose this year's Harvard-Radcliffe Combined Charities.

William Kristol

CLOSING OUT THE 1960s

As chronological units, decades begin and end at exact points in time; but as historical periods — which is how we usually speak of them — their boundaries are uneven and indistinct. The moods and enthusiasms which define decades slowly drift in and then, after a time, drift out again on the tide of events. One can therefore never be quite certain just when one decade is over with and another has begun. This is especially so because the ideas and the personalities and the preoccupations which are at the center of a decade never spring into existence *ex nihilo*. Usually they have been around for years and decades prior to their brief popular reign, and after their moment in the limelight they seldom become altogether extinct, but merely retreat to the fastness of this or that isolated nook of society, where they persist more or less indefinitely as remnants of the past—and also as prototypes for the future. This suggests another reason why decades are so mercurial and so hard to demarcate: they can recur. And in fact they do recur, lending to our political and cultural history the cyclical character noted by Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. Thus, the 1950s had much in common with the 1920s, just as the 1960s bore a strong resemblance to, and in this sense were a replay of, the 1890s and 1910s.

I have just referred to the 1960s in the past tense, as if they were over and done with — but are they really? Or is what we have been witnessing these past few years only a brief lull after which the decade will come roaring back in all its stylish zeal and rancorous energy? The conventional wisdom would seem to be that the sixties are now quite extinct and can be expected to remain so. Partly this view derives from the trendmakers' current interest in divining the distinctive flavor and concerns of the 1970s — an enterprise which can proceed only on the assumption that the sixties have indeed come to an end. But there is more solid evidence as well. The urban riots that be-

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PERSPECTIVE: Gary North

The Perseverance of the Family

PERSPECTIVES is a new Alternative *feature, in which articulate spokesmen are given the opportunity to argue the pros and the cons, the highs and the lows, the light and the serious of any significant issue. It should be emphasized that the opinions and values herein expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Editor or* The Alternative *staff.*

Conservatives, almost by definition, are institutionally oriented. They suspect the motives and the sanity of all armchair social theorists who proclaim radical human autonomy as the foundation of their social analysis. Individual creativity, and a society's ability to appropriate and use such creativity, require the existence of stabilizing institutional supports. Randomness is a threat to man; he seeks to thwart it in the day-to-day affairs of his life. Randomness, if it is widespread, requires too much capital, both human and material, to deal with it. Scarce economic resources, especially time, are diverted from the task of positive creativity in order to subdue, in a negative fashion, the contingency of life. Therefore, as Robert Nisbet has argued so forcefully in his *Social Change and History*, stability rather than change should be the primary presupposition of sociological analysis. It is the error of modern thought (and has been for three centuries) to elevate change to the position of ultimacy, thus relegating stability into the realm of the abnormal. Stability is the setting of social change, not the other way around.

The standard account of the basic components of society which might appear in any of a hundred conservative analyses would include family, church, and state, generally in that order. Furthermore, subordinate institutional arrangements, probably more fleeting historically, but of considerable importance to society, are such things as school, business (i.e., occupational calling), fraternal organizations, gangs, or any number of other voluntary associations. Without the emotional stability provided by these associations — which Tocqueville said were so fundamental in American life in the 1830s — men are left to find meaning and purpose as social atoms. The "anomie" of modern industrial life, as Durkheim called it at the end of the last century, results from just this kind of social fragmentation and atomization. The alienation of mankind which so appalled the young Marx—an alienation, within the framework of the Christian philosophy of the West, which stems from the ultimate alienation between God and man — flourished far more easily in the milieu of industrial Europe than it had in the more personalistic culture which had preceded it.

It has been a hallmark of totalitarian parties that ultimate sovereignty has been ascribed to the leader, for it is he who is the incarnation of the spirit of universal meaning (*Volkgeist*, the proletarian class, the forces of history, etc.). The leader is the sole source of temporal meaning, the fountain of power, the source of legitimate change, the touchstone of community. Men participate in community, thus bringing purpose into otherwise autonomous, contingent lives, through the leader and the party. Totalitarian systems deny the validity of alternative institutional sovereignties, for these operate as buffers against central political power. At best, such competing institutions are regarded as derivative sovereignties, drawing legitimacy, power, and meaning from the party and the party's state. Thus, the premise of absolute totalitarianism is the simultaneous existence of radical individualism (i.e., social atomism) and the total integration of each human personality into the overarching sovereignty of the leader and his party. (cf. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism;* Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community;* J.L. Talmon, *Origins of Totalitarian Democracy.)* From Rousseau to Stalin, a man is defined only as citizen or comrade; no other membership has any legitimacy. As Koestler has put it in *Darkness at Noon*, a man is defined as one million men divided by one million — a pure social atom.

Conservatives rest the case for human freedom on the existence of legitimate multiple sovereignties, each with the authority to express itself by means of establishing instititutional restraints on members and on each other. Men can be a part of several of them at any point in time, and each will impart a degree of meaning and stability into his life. Destroy the system of plural sovereignties, each with its own legitimate realm of authority, and society faces the creation of a vast bureaucracy. In fact, the existence of the deadening bureaucratic hand will be the single sovereignty that can compete effectively with the capriciousness of the will of the ruler. The citizen is caught in the cross-fire between the impersonal cage of bureaucracy and the contingent world of the totalitarian leader. Total personalism doing battle with total impersonalism, with the individual citizen crushed in the middle. (Nazi Germany has been described as a "confusion of private armies and private intelligence services," in which the traditional army, the Reichswehr, was confronted with, first, the S.A. forces under Roehm, and second, the S.S. forces under Himmler, and few men ever knew where they stood in relation to the various bureaucracies. The faceless bureaucrats and

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Hitler were the foundations of men's lives.)

The one institution which is universally acknowledged by conservative social analysts and philosophers as being inescapable for the maintenance of a free society is the family. The family's relationship with that other crucial institutional arrangement, private ownership of property, is inescapable. Rushdoony has pointed this out in his study, *Bread Upon the Waters:*

"Biblical law places power and authority into the hands of the parents, especially the father, and, as long as the family has liberty, liberty based on the power of property, the parents have authority. The primary purpose of the inheritance tax has been to destroy this parental power; the total financial gain to the state by means of inheritance taxes is small. Similarly, transfer of power over education, income, and property from the family to the state has undercut parental power and authority."

"Because the modern state controls the education, income, property, and labor of *all* its citizens, it thus controls the totality of powers within the country. The result is totalitarianism. Every country that weakens the independence and liberty of the family and property moves steadily into totalitarianism. It makes no difference in which country this occurs, and what laws the state passes as a restraint on itself. *Property is power, and when the state grows in its controls over property, it grows in the same degree towards totalitarian power.* No political program can stop this growth unless it restores to the family its control over property, income, and education. As long as the state retains the control, it will retain the power and the authority, and it is naive to expect anything but tyranny."

It is therefore not surprising that the Soviet Union officially abolished the family as a legal entity until 1936. The conservative would argue that Stalin was forced to return to at least a somewhat conservative position with respect to the family because the very nature of human society demands acknowledgement of this most crucial of institutions. Without it, and the stability, meaning, and purpose it brings to the lives of human beings, men cannot be productive, and even the communist state needs basic economic production more than it needs ideological consistency. There is an order that is built into creation that must be respected by men; deny it, and you deny both order and man. Deny the legitimacy of the family, and you deny the operational existence of human society. That is why totalitarianism in its purest theoretical form cannot exist over the long run or over large geographical areas, for it negates the possibility of social control when it negates the possibility of society. This does not mean, however, that attempts to abolish the family by totalitarians and radical anarchists (who work together initially to tear down the fabric of existing society) cannot cause great social havoc. They can, and they have. They may again.

Socialism: Statist vs. Family

The family is the central lawmaking body in human society, not the civil government. It is the structure which teaches children original attitudes toward law, property, and other human beings. It is the primary agency of social welfare, as well as education. Steadily, as the state appropriates the functions of the family, a basic distortion of social life becomes manifest. Those social functions that can best be ordered through the operation of a local, highly personal structure — one which is basically voluntary at its point of origin, i.e., marriage — become totalitarian and inefficient when appropriated by distant, politically controlled bureaucratic hierarchies that use coercion to gain access to their economic resources.

The family is essentially bureaucratic and socialistic in its internal structure. For some reason, this fact seems to bother libertarians. Some of them — at least those conservative enough to defend the family — actually try to deny the obvious. Robert Nisbet, the most influential conservative sociologist in this country (and perhaps the world— there are so few of them), writes in his book, *The Social Bond,* that the family, like the asylum, the prison, or the army, is a strongly authoritarian institution. The individual is not free to withdraw from it until his term is up, and "within the organization, he is subject to the full sweep of its authority." Or, as it was beautifully put in a cartoon showing a confrontation between a father and his teen-age son: "But Dad, Mom volunteered for this outfit. I was drafted!" Unless the family is in the process of collapse, the parents are in possession of the rights of control: allocation of economic assets, allocation of family tasks, family discipline. Where this "internal socialism" is not present to a considerable degree, the family in question is in very serious danger.

Does this mean that conservatives favor the establishment of basically socialistic institutions? Of course it does. If a society does not establish a multitude of such institutions, it will see the establishment of that single overarching socialist institution, the totalitarian state. Conservatives favor the establishment of such bureaucratic and internally socialistic agencies as police forces (preferably local) and armies (preferably small and professional). They favor the establishment of private, non-tax-supported churches, libraries, schools, and other institutions that need not be operated on the basis of profit and loss statements. We desperately need more externally voluntary but internally bureaucratic institutions to act as buffers against the expanding sovereignty of the totalitarian state. Most of all, we need strong families.

To criticize the family because it possesses features that are repulsive when found in the institution of the state is as misguided an effort as the criticism of the state because it does not function as a family. Radical libertarians tend to practice the first form of criticism, while socialists are in the second category. Both fallacies rest on the same error: the inability to understand that different human institutions have different functions, different structures, different means of financing, different strengths and weaknesses, different laws governing them. Obviously, the family is not the civil government. It is not impersonal. It trains its members to exercise responsible leadership in all areas of their lives, inside and outside the family. It produces children and, through the dual program of discipline and love, can transform rebellious infants into responsible men and women. Children are regarded as children only while they are children. The very process of aging in the parents adds incentive for them to rear up responsible children who can make a mark in the world and later will be able to support their parents when the elders can no longer care for themselves. The family unit, because it operates under the laws of biology (unlike the state), provides for its own internal transformation; children are not treated as children forever. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh" (Gen. 2:24).

The state, if it attempts to imitate the family's structure and functions, becomes a crude, inefficient, exceedingly dangerous parody. Impersonal (or

Contributors

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randomly personal and capricious), devoid of love, legalistic (or terrifyingly antinomian), unwilling to grant the distinction between childhood and adulthood among its subjects, the state attempts to make perpetual children out of all men and women. Rather than a school for responsibility, the "familistic state" creates a bureaucratic socialism that would transform society into a huge Skinner Box of perpetual youth and perpetual servitude.

The Assault on the Family

The assault on the family comes in many forms. One of the most common in western society, from the Romans to the present, is the concept of romantic love. By viewing marriage as a product of romantic love, the integrity of a stable family is destroyed. The momentary irrational "feelings" of two persons become the foundation of society's primary institution. The concepts of binding law and permanent mutual obligation are undercut. Jim Moran, generally regarded as a master of the practical joke (or mental hotfoot, as he likes to refer to the art), came close to the meaning of romantic love several years ago when he was able to enlist the support of several psychiatrists in a peculiar project. He was trying (probably as a publicity stunt) to get a court to consider the following argument: if a partner can prove that at the time of the marriage he or she was actually in love, there are grounds for divorce on the basis of temporary insanity. How crude a travesty of justice is this? When "mental cruelty" or "irreconcilable differences (unstated)" have become the escape clauses for marriages built upon the shifting sands of romantic love, Moran's little stunt does not seem too outlandish after all. It certaintly seems more honest than what actually prevails in American law.

Historically, western culture has prospered when marriage was seen as a function of faith and character primarily, property secondarily, and romantic affection last. The arranged marriage, subject to a negative in cases of extreme hostility on the part of either prospective partner, served men, women, and society quite well. If for no other reason, it was useful for blaming your marraige's many failings on your parents' lack of insight rather than your own stupidity.

Another attack on the integrity of the family has come from the chief representative of the anarchist Right, Murray Rothbard. Rothbard has distinguished himself as a major defender of the right of voluntary contract; indeed, he would prefer to see the complete abolishment of the civil government, resting the whole of society on individually contracting men and women. Yet in one area, defined as the area of "slavery," he would deny the right of men to make permanent, binding contracts. Somehow, *a priori*, by definition, forever and ever, rationally, inescapably, by the God Who probably does not exist and Who always is irrelevant to economic analysis, *this* kind of contract is forbidden! And the marriage contract is just this kind of voluntary slavery. Contracts, yes, but not a permanent marriage contract! Contracts for mutual prostitution, homosexuality, pornography, heroin sales to anyone who has the money, and every other kind of "non-coercive" human depravity: these are all legitimate, since they add to human welfare (as all voluntary contracts must, he says: "Toward a Reconstruction of Utility and Welfare Economics," in Mary Sennholz, ed., *On Freedom and Free Enterprise*). But not permanent, binding marriage contracts! (*Man, Economy and State*, p. 441, footnote 35.) That would be immoral. That would be a form of slavery. It is almost enough to make the conservative suspicious about Rothbard's claim that his social and economic analyses stem from totally neutral, rational presuppositions. In fact, it is more than enough. Rothbard is a fine economist, but his social theories necessarily alienate conservatives.

The depersonalization and rationalization of modern western culture have produced major changes in all traditional, personalistic, status-oriented institutions, including the family. Such changes would, if unlimited, call into question the very function of the family.

Conservatives therefore conclude that

there are built-in limits on the extent to which society can be depersonalized. The family is even more fundamental than the process of western rationalization. The family, although under heavy attack from all sides, does survive, as the voluminous studies of Carle Zimmerman indicate. The American family, while visibly shaken by the expansion of secularism and the inroads of the modern state, will survive long after the heralds of new (or very ancient) utopias without families have ceased from their labors of scribbling tracts. These utopians live in mentally fabricated worlds; they are, as Nisbet calls them, adolescent judges.

The absurdity of that contemporary intellectual aberation known euphemistically as "women's liberation" rests ultimately on a misguided critique of the family. Pointing to the obvious weaknesses of the modern family, the libbers refuse to call for alterations that might solve the family's problems: marriage based on faith and character, property, and parental guidance. Instead, they want to cure the modern family by making it even more modern: more autonomy for both partners (including sexual autonomy), more female careers in business, more day-care centers (financed, preferably, through coercive taxation), fewer binding vows, more impulse. Like the socialist who sees the only cure for the obvious failure of socialism in the advent of even more socialism, so the libbers would like to repair the family by prescribing heavier doese of the acids of modernity. It is not surprising (and a testimony to the family's strength) that the "Movement" finds most of its recruits in upper-middle class, intellectual neighborhoods and on college campuses, and not in the local laundromat and beauty parlors where the vast majority of women are to be found. The radical autonomy of Ellen Peck's *The Baby Trap* is simply unacceptable to most women. When and if this ceases to be true, the end of this civilization is very near. But I am optimistic here. I suspect that when the tight-lipped female enthusiast (I am tempted to write "female impersonator") in her goggle glasses announced to the evening T.V. news audience that science must find an alternative to pregnancy, since "pregnancy is barbaric," some 98 percent of the viewers shook their heads in disbelief. Not disbelief in the statement, which is outrageously ridiculous, but in the fact that anyone could be so immature and stupid to say it.

The advent of gay liberation is symptomatic of cultural degeneracy. Homosexuality is an ancient form of deviant behavior; Saint Paul catalogues it as one of the sins of Rome that were deserving of death. But when the surfacing of "the velvet underground" is possible, the erosion of moral standards by relativism is marked. A new repression is quite likely under such conditions; men and women are unlikely to permit such a public flaunting of the integrity of sexual union in marriage. The challenge made by any flagrant exhibitionism of gay libbers will, in the long run, produce a major backlash, either through the civil government or through Klan-like activities of vigilante groups. It may take several decades for this to happen, but if the challenge to the family posed by open homosexuality is permitted to flourish, then post-"post-Christian" society will put an end to it. The masochistic impulses of the public homosexuals will then be fulfilled. It would be better for all concerned had the underground either disappeared, or at least stayed circumspectly underground.

The epidemic proportions of venereal disease in the United States is one of those magnificent signs of the built-in regularity of social order. Deviations from sexual norms bring with them, as the sociologist might put it, "endogenous negative feedback." In contrast to the hip button that reads, "chastity is its own punishment," we find that the breakdown of the marriage bond — the only truly successful prophylactic against venereal disase — has brought with it a huge personal and social cost. *Newsweek's* scare article (Jan. 24, 1972), while a piece of propaganda for increasing governmental financial support of medical research and control programs (not a word was mentioned about informing youth of the immorality of promiscuity — neutrality, you know),

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nevertheless offers startling data. Some 85,000 new cases of syphilis occur annually, and an incredible 624,000 new cases of gonorrhea. The number of cases of the two combined exceed the number of cases of strep throat, scarlet fever, measles, mumps, hepatitis, and tuberculosis combined. As infectious diseases, only the common cold exceeds them. Pandemic, rather than epidemic, describes what has happened to the rate of VD since 1955. Homosexuals, apparently, are hardest hit: up to 40 percent of new cases of syphilis occur among male homosexuals. The wages of sin are death, but God offers an advance on people's salary from time to time.

The phenomenon noted by Freud in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, that there is a relationship between sexual continency ("repression") and social progress, was pursued by J.D. Unwin in his now-ignored studies, especially *Sex and Civilization* (Oxford, 1934). In culture after culture, much to his amazement and discomfort (he was an old liberal humanist), he found that any deviation from monogamy brought with it a lessening of creativity. Cultural leadership would shift to some newer monogamous culture. No amount of data could prove this to our modern cultural relativists and ethical hedonists, but the warning is there irrespective of their dislike of Unwin's findings. Tamper with the integrity of the family, and your culture will pay a heavy price.

The family will survive. Women's lib, gay lib, sado-masochism, trial marriages, co-ed dorms, situational ethics, and cultural relativism will not survive, except in their underground, culturally impotent forms. The family is a viable institution; like all viable structures, it will not persist completely oblivious to changes, both external and internal. But its familiar outline will persist: for this will a man leave his parents and cleave unto his wife. Not his brother's wife, his father's wife, his aunt, daughter, neighbor's wife, neighbor, or his Great Dane, but to his wife. □

PERSPECTIVE: David Brudnoy

Queer-Baiting for Faith, Fun, and Profit

This is the second of our PERSPECTIVE essays. As with the first, it does not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor or The Alternative *staff.*

"Then the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from out of heaven; and He overthrew those cities and all the valley and all the inhabitants of the cities." Thus did God deal with the Sodomites, who had come to Lot's house demanding that he surrender his two visitors, who turned out to be disguised angels. "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, that we may know them," said the lecherous men of Sodom. But "Lot went out the door to the men, shut the door after him and said, 'I beg you, my brothers, do not act so wickedly. Behold, I have two daughters who have not known man; let me bring them out to you, and do to them as you please; only do nothing to these men, for they have come under the shelter of my roof.' "

From this story in Genesis 19 it is obvious that homosexuality was a serious offense in Biblical times. And as Women's Liberationists might point out, the Sodom story also makes apparent the abysmal devaluation of women in the ethics of the ancient Hebrews. Lot valued the dignity of his male guests more highly than that of his female children. When the men of Sodom were entrapped by God's plain-clothesmen, the rain of fire commenced. While the episode in Sodom is the earliest account of the entrapment of homosexuals, and the remarks in Genesis the first explicit condemnation of homosexuality, that occasion was not the last of either. The town itself, however, gave its name to the generic term used in the West to describe most forms of homosexual activity, and some types of other sex activity: sodomy.

When we reflect on the tolerance granted to sexual heterodoxy in many eastern lands—among the Arabs, the ancient Chinese, the medieval Japanese, and others — we recognize that it is primarily in western societies that homosexuality is considered a major problem.

God in His wisdom added other warnings to the rather plain lesson in Genesis. In Leviticus 18:22-23, for instance, He said: "You shall not lie with a man as with a woman; it is an abomination. If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall be put to death, their blood is upon them." Judges 1:22-30 has a similar message. I Kings 22:46 tells how Jehosaphat took the rest of the Sodomites out of the land; II Kings 23:7 again talks of the Sodomites. Romans 1:27 teaches that God punished men who left "the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another." Paul's epistle to the Corinthians (I, 6:9) says: "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminates, nor abusers of themselves with mankind. . . ." Paul's epistle to Timothy (1:10) refers to "them that defile themselves with mankind. . . ."

God says nothing about female homosexuality. Woman is thought fit to be offered to Lot's neighbors, but unsuited to be considered in this regard; so says the Bible by omission and implication. How very much like the God of the Bible was Queen Victoria, who, when shown an anti-homosexuality bill prepared in Parliament containing a provision mentioning lesbians, refused to believe that such people existed. And so, like many other Christian nations, Britain emulated the Bible and proscribed only male homosexuality.

The Roman Catholic Church until the late Middle Ages opposed homosexuality not only (or even primarily) because it was abnormal or unnatural, but also because it satisfied carnal lust and yielded bodily pleasure. The Church fathers condemned sexual pleasure, glorifying the ascetic ideal derived from Platonism, which had crept into Christianity via Saint Paul. They glorified the activities of those mountain and desert hermits such as Saint Simon Stylites, who utterly refused to see any woman, even his pleading, wailing mother. Simon was a hero, not incidentally because he avoided *all* sex.

" 'Tis better to marry than to burn," said Paul, who thought remaining pure was even better. Pursuit of the ascetic ideal, which resulted in misogyny, might conceivably have led to an acceptance of homosexuality as a convenient, if unworthy, alternative — but it did not. By the tenth century, woman's subjection as a chattel-slave was virtually complete; and even when the notions of courtly, chivalric love took their place in western Christianity, it was not a breakthrough for women, who found their pedestals rather cold and not very much fun, or for homosexuals, who were still anathema.

The European Middle Ages were in many ways far less grim than the designation "Dark Ages" would have us believe, but the standard picture of those years as unenlightened derives at least partly from fact. As a symbol of darkness, the concept of witchcraft, and as a phenomenon, the Inquisition, give adequate testimony to that picture. Witches were supposed to have a characteristic passion for carnality, that is, for sex not aiming at procreation but at pleasure. The Devil, with whom witches satisfied their cravings by rather torrid copulation, was thought to have a forked penis for penetration at once vaginally and anally.

During the centuries of witch-hunting, the Church agglutinated the two notions of religious deviance and sexual offense; heresy and homosexuality became one and the same. During the Middle Ages, writes Edward Westermark in his *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideal*, "heretics were accused of unnatural vice (homosexuality) as a matter of course . . . .In medieval laws sodomy was also repeatedly mentioned together with heresy, and the punishment was the same for both." In thirteenth-century Spain, the penalty for homosexuality was castration and execution by stoning. In 1479, Ferdinand and Isabella, those noted humanitarian rulers of Castile and Aragon, the patrons of Columbus and the expellers of the Jews from Spain, changed that to "burning alive and confiscation." Earlier, Pope Nicholas V had empowered the Inquisition to deal with

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homosexuality and in 1451 it was made the subject of a special inquest. Twelve homosexuals were burnt in that year alone. Thus, the Spanish Inquisition found the time and energy to burn homosexuals as well as religious heretics.

By 1640, homosexuals in Portugal were by statute treated like heretics: their punishment was "relaxation," (burning) or "scourging" (flogging), and the galleys. As late as 1723, a homosexual in Lisbon was scourged and sentenced to ten years as a galley slave. In Valencia, homosexuals were regularly given up to the flames, although homosexual priests, oddly enough, were treated more leniently than laymen. In Spain from 1780 to 1820, one hundred homosexuals came before the Valencia Tribunal.

English-speaking nations also neatly connected heresy and homosexuality through a single word used for both: buggery. The word is derived from the medieval Latin *Bugarus* and *Bulgarus*, meaning a Bulgarian, because the Bulgarians were considered religiously heretical. To be stigmatized as a heretic or bugger in fourteenth-century England was to be cast out of society. The sin of heresy eclipsed all contradictory, personal characteristics, just as the teachings of God and the Church eclipsed all contradictory empirical observations. To be a heretic meant to worship the devil; to be a witch meant to sleep with the devil; and to be a bugger meant — well, the inference is clear.

The case is often made for active homosexuality among the ancients. But the argument from history is tricky, and no clear-cut conclusions can easily be drawn. Evidently, homosexual *feelings* were considered acceptable and apparently, the Greeks and Romans did practice homosexuality to some degree. But the *laws* were often harsh, homosexual acts often specifically proscribed. As we all know, the gap between law and practice is frequently wide. Herodotus (I, 135) tells us that "the Persians, taught by the Greeks, learned to sleep with boys." Atheneus (XIII, 81) says: "Sophocles loved boys, as Euripides loved women." Plutarch writes in the *Life of Lycurgus*: "Their lovers and favorers, too, had a share in the young boy's honor or disgrace. One was fined by the magistrates because the lad he loved cried out effeminately as he was fighting." It still remains, however, a matter of academic controversy as to just how much homosexuality was tolerated in Greece and Rome, although the record is less ambiguous for various times and places in the East.

Make of all this what we will; we cannot accurately determine much about anti-homosexuality by studying the ancients. The Judeo-Christian experiences offer much more in the way of solid evidence. The Bible explicitly condemned homosexuality; the Jews condemned it in practice; the Christians followed the Jews. I am unqualified to make *ex cathedra* pronouncements about the underlying causes for anti-homosexual attitudes. But I would hazard a guess and suggest, with the libertarian Theodore Schroeder (1864-1953), that Judeo-Christian sex-suppression may result from unresolved sexual cravings, and that erotic hallucinations which produce fear and shame and modesty are historically most often tamed by rigorous suppression of eroticism. According to this hypothesis, the results of such sex-suppression have been the Churchmen's celibacy, the traditional prohibitions against birth control (which enables people to enjoy sex without procreating), and the medieval hysteria about sexual unorthodoxy, among others.

The medieval attitude, which, as Thomas Szasz points out in *The Manufacture of Madness*, made homosexuality a twin of witchcraft, lasted up to the twentieth century in western countries. As short a time ago as 1895, Oscar Wilde was ruined. Wilde's *De Profundis*, an extended love letter to his "Bosie," Lord Alfred Douglass, shows how the most civilized western nation, traditionally most tolerant of dissenters, dealt with the unfortunate pederast Wilde. We might also look into the varied career of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, among his unfortunate activities, traded on the public fear of sexual deviation by hinting at links between queerness and Redness. Since the common feeling as late as the 1950s in this country was that homosexuals were totally wicked, the association of sexual and political deviation came easily.

Great American Series

. . .the President gets a lot of hot potatoes from every direction. . .and a man who can't handle them has no business in that job. That makes me think of a saying that I used to hear from my old friend and colleague on the Jackson County Court. He said, "Harry, if you can't stand the heat you better get out of the kitchen." I'll say that is absolutely true.

Harry S. Truman

And it works in reverse. If Communists are the modern secular incarnations of the Devil, then they too are without redeeming features; they too must be completely bad; they must be homosexuals. Furthermore, it works from still another side, the Communist side. In Red nations today, the two most heinous crimes, punished with almost equal ferocity, are political deviation and homosexuality.

II

Nothing gets closer to the heart of American society's problem of accomodating tradition to radical innovation, and nothing unnerves Middle America more—or more thoroughly stimulates the imagination of the so-called New Left — than things sexual. Those in the "middle" can grin and bear a Black Power movement, or put up with an Indian seizure of Alcatraz, or even contemplate the consequences of eighteen-year-olds voting. But an assault on traditional, sexual values is intolerable. The championing of Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation by leftists is but a manifestation of their own judgment that many of the sexual aspects of our culture are in need of re-evaluation, that precisely such an evaluation will be violently resisted by non-leftists, and that therefore there is much political capital to be gained by exploiting such movements.

Most Americans have only so much compassion and only so much ability to understand those perceived to be radically different. Not enough, for instance, to seriously accept the homosexuals' demands for complete equality — not only under law, but in attitudes as well. The Left, alone among Americans as a socio-political "type," has shown that an improved attitude toward homosexuals is possible for non-gays. To my knowledge, the Socialist Workers' party is the only American non-homosexual political group to declare its sympathy with the goals of Gay Liberation. Of course, some on the Left are like those mentioned in Merle Miller's famous *New York Times Magazine* article in 1970, those for whom a "faggot is that homosexual gentleman who's just left the room." Nevertheless, the major stumbling-blocks to homosexual liberation come not from the Left, but from conservatives and liberals.

In fact, the rejection of homosexuals is currently expressed through a set of twin attitudes: from the conservatives, hostility; and from the liberals, condescending "tolerance."

Vehement essays in the magazines, pamphlets, and newsletters of the extreme Right, of course, reflect the most uncompromising and relentlously antagonistic attitudes toward the "morally degenerate" homosexuals. However, these opinions represent a mentality alien to responsible conservatism. Such material is a Left-liberal caricature of the Right and those on the responsible Right disdain it.

More disturbing are the articles or asides which touch on sex matters from this point of view in the better conservative journals. I recollect, as an instance, an article a few years ago by Will Herberg in the most respected popular conservative journal, *National Review;* though *National Review* did publish early in 1972, to its great credit, a quite humane article on a homosexual lounge at Columbia University by the young novelist, D. Keith Mano. Unfortunately, the article by Dr. Herberg speaks, I believe, more for the conservative position today than does Mr. Mano's.

Briefly stated, Dr. Herberg's "Case for Heterosexuality" was this: 1) "Homosexuality (is) a perversion in the individual. . .and a source of corruption in society." 2) The Bible condemns homosexuality as "aberrant," instructing Dr. Herberg that if a man is "homosexual, he is deviant, he is 'sick,' he is pathological." 3) "Natural Law" proclaims the family to be the "basic cell of society" and heterosexuality the "normative structure of being." 4) History shows that the Greeks did not approve of it. 5) Freud, "the most telling witness," called homosexuality a "perversion." 6) Although the author "does not want to heap abuse upon the homosexual, who is often more to be pitied than blamed, or

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to reproach him for his aberrancy," he does just that, lapsing into the *ad personam* mode: "pathological, deviant, sickness, sin, vice, perversion" are words he employs while not heaping abuse. 7) The author wants no criminal sanctions against adult homosexual acts, but he lures us into the shadowy world of homosexual seducers of minors, for whom he craves punishment. 8) Homosexuality must "constitute an impediment to certain kinds of employment," because homosexuals are "undesirable" in certain fields. 9) His scorn is reserved for the "homosexual who flaunts his perversion and even makes it into a badge of distinction." To deserve Dr. Herberg's "sympathy and help," the homosexual must "recognize his own abnormality as a sickness, albeit incurable" (sic).

The other approach, condescending tolerance, differs specifically from Herberg's in stressing the idea of "sickness" almost to the exclusion of other aspects. Once considered the most heinous of crimes, homosexuality, as Dr. Szasz imaginatively points out, is now considered a form of mental illness by American psychiatric opinion, which is the brainchild of the liberal mentality. I exempt from that generalization Sigmund Freud and some of his followers.

Freud referred to the "*unhonored* title of perversion," not "unhonorable," meaning perhaps that he doubted the value judgment of those who despised homosexuality. In his famous "Letter to an American Mother" (April, 1935), Freud noted that "homosexuality is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness. . . .It is a great injustice to persecute homosexuality and a crime and cruelty too." Freud's most explicit remark on homosexuality is reported in Joseph Wortis' book, *Fragments of an Analysis with Freud:* "No psychoanalyst has ever claimed," Freud is quoted as saying, "that homosexuals cannot be perfectly decent people. Psychoanalysis does not undertake to judge people in any case. I don't understand. . .how you can concern yourself with such purely conventional problems, what is a neurosis and what is not a neurosis, what is pathological or not pathological — all mere words — fights about words."

Freud's view has not predominated in American psychiatric circles, however; here, the dominant view is that homosexuality is a disease to be treated and cured. For instance, among the most knowledgeable and humane of liberal psychologists was Robert Lindner, who wrote in *Must You Conform?:* "Homosexuality is a form of rebellion against society (which Lindner in other areas heartily approved, calling it "creative protest, productive revolt") which can be treated and should be treated and hence eradicated." Dr. Lindner saw the sex-repression of contemporary American society as the fruit of centuries of such repression, and he recognized that "our society's attitude toward sex is a travesty on human nature; inhibiting and repressing all forms of natural sexual appetites." But homosexuality, the late Dr. Lindner told us accurately, is widely detested, not a happy part of our culture; so it must be considered a disease and eradicated accordingly.

Long ago, Dante's *Divine Comedy* placed inverts in the most scorching part of Hell. And Andre Gide, in *Corydon* (1911), reminded us that homosexuals have often been victims, but few have been martyrs, because most recant under fire. Then Albert Ellis, one of the most fashionable of all psychoanalysts practicing today, takes a leaf from Dante and confirms Gide by writing in his *American Sexual Tragedy* that there is nothing wrong with homosexuality as long as it is not exclusive homosexuality. "It is clear that an exclusive homosexual is neurotically afraid of heterosexuality, or is fearfully fixated on a homosexual level of behavior, or is obsessed with the idea of homosexuality, or is compulsively attached to homosexual activity, or is otherwise neurotically (or perhaps psychotically) homosexual." In other words, one may like it, but to be stuck on it is "abnormal or deviant." He does say the same thing about "exclusive heterosexu-

ality" and reminds us of the inanity of statutory prohibitions against sodomy. And he tells us with considerable feeling that, when solicited by other males, many men will physically beat their homosexual petitioners because "the assailants are...unwilling to face, and so emotionally disturbed by, their own underlying homosexual tendencies." Ellis' insistence on defining "sick" as exclusivity and "healthy" as bi-sexuality might give us pause.

Fundamentally, the modern psychiatric therapist confuses the social role of "disease" and the medical definition of the word. Here again, Dr. Szasz is a most helpful guide to understanding. It is the psychiatrist's purpose in life to practice therapy, to correct, to treat. And so homosexuality becomes a "mental disease," the new twin of witchcraft (in Schroeder's term), and no more real than witchcraft because both exist in the mind of the believer and not in the object of study. The overriding tendency of modern psychiatry, its constant critic Szasz shows, is to brand as sick that which is merely unconventional. Thus, the question of whether or not homosexuality is an illness is in part a pseudo-problem. Clearly it is not a disease like diabetes—diagnosable, with visible physical symptoms, and treatable. And just as clearly it is not a "mental illness," in the sense in which we should use the term. It is, in relation to what is considered normal, simply a "deviation."

To be stigmatized as a heretic or bugger in the fourteenth century was to be cast out of society. At present, to be so stigmatized is to be thrown out of society and, were it up to those doing the name-calling, into the clutches of the $50-an-hour headshrinker. Homosexuals are a group of medically stigmatized and socially disparaged individuals; to call them mentally ill is to hide that fact, and to give people an opportunity for smug, condescending tolerance.

As Dr. Szasz writes: "So long as man can denounce each other as mentally sick (homosexual, addicted, insane, and so fourth)—so that the madman can always be considered the Other, never the Self—mental illness will remain an easily exploitable concept, and Coercive Psychiatry a flourishing institution." In legal courts today, instead of sentencing a homosexual to prison, a humane, liberal judge will often let the homosexual go, on condition that he seek psychiatric "help."

One might consult Dr. Karl Menninger's *The Vital Balance* in addition to Szasz's book. Menninger, widely recognized as the most liberal and progressive modern psychiatrist, sees homosexuality as a symptom of illness which *must* be treated. A homosexual who fails to realize that he is "sick," writes Dr. Menninger, is only "rationalizing." In his "Introduction to The Wolfenden Report," Dr. Menninger even writes that "prostitution and homosexuality rank high in the kingdom of evils." Of this, "there is no question."

In sum, psychiatric opinion about homosexuals is not a strictly scientific proposition, but a social prejudice masquerading as medicine. It is as if homosexuality were equivalent to measles, and measles the same as leprosy, and leprosy identical to murder. Certainly there are homosexuals who think they are sick. And it is their right, perhaps their obligation to themselves, to see a psychiatrist if *they* believe they are sick. But most homosexuals do not think that, though our liberals would have us believe it is so because the homosexuals cannot recognize their own illness. It reminds me of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the father of American psychiatry. Jefferson's friend Rush felt that Negroes were suffering from congenital leprosy, and with time, treatment, and luck, they would get back to their "natural whiteness." How little things change among psychiatrists. And how little things change in the minds of authoritarians: The National Socialists had their final solution to the Jewish Problem—the ovens; the modern totalitarians of psychiatry have their final solution to the homosexual matter:—enforced therapy.

As Szasz insists, the homosexual is the model psychiatric scapegoat. Abby Mann exaggerates, but nevertheless makes a

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telling point: "It's easier to be accepted by our society as a murderer than as a homosexual." Our society dreads homosexuality with the same intensity as the theological societies of old dreaded heresy and witchcraft. Homosexuality is considered a crime by many moderns and a disease by most. There is scant chance of excape. The laws of all but five states prohibit homosexual behavior in much the same way as the laws of fifteenth-century Spain prohibited the practice of the Jewish faith. The results are analogous: in Spain, Jews practiced secretly (the Judaizers) and kept their faith; in America, homosexuals "practice" homosexuality, the laws notwithstanding.

Even the Negro is better off. Victimized in the past, and sometimes now, the Negro is today recognized as a fully human being with an unconditional "right" to his brown skin. The homosexual, however, has neither this status nor the right to his sexual proclivities and practices; he is a defective object, a man "afflicted" with a disease to which, as Szasz puts it, he has no more right than the heterosexual has to being cursed with the Black Plague. He, like the Jew in anti-Semitic medieval Europe, is denied recognition as a human being in his authentic identity and selfhood—and for the same reasons: each undermines the beliefs and values of the dominant group.

III

The homosexual is blackmail-prone, hence "unsuitable" for certain positions. Furthermore, he is in hot water if he tries to emigrate to America. By virtue of a 1967 decision of the Warren Supreme Court, a homosexual applicant for citizenship may be excluded by the government because, as the Court reminds us in citing the Chinese Exclusion Case of 1889, the "Congress has plenary power to make rules for the admission of aliens and to exclude those who possess those characteristics which Congress has forbidden." Previously, the Court and Congress expressed their biases against colored peoples, anarchists, and the like. Yesterday's coolie immigrant is today's homosexual seeking entry into this country. In the specific case under discussion, that of Michael Clive Boutilier in 1967, psychiatric evidence was required in court, and the psychiatrist felt no duty to protect his subject's privacy. The state's interest took precedence. So Mr. Boutilier, a Canadian resident in the United States from 1955, who applied for citizenship in 1963, and whose record showed a sodomy arrest in New York in 1959, was banished.

The Boutilier precedent stands at the high court level although various recent lower court rulings are reopening the matter. A person acknowledged as a homosexual, in any case, can at present be denied citizenship. Were Congress to pass a statute barring from immigration persons afflicted with the mental disease called "Witchraft," we would be vastly amused. But the mental disease called homosexuality, the mental disease created by liberal psychiatry, is today's witchcraft, and the flames have been replaced by compulsory servitude on the couch or in a mental hospital. God tested the men of Sodom and sent two angels in the form of attractive men. And Uncle Sam tests his people too, in similar ways. God, knowing nothing of modern psychiatry, smote the Sodomites. Uncle Sam is a lay analyst, however, and so his punishment is liberal and humane: compulsory submission to treatment.

When New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller advocated the enforced mental hospitalization of drug addicts, and both former Justice Abe Fortas and Justice William O. Douglas suggested the same, might we not worry about the day when some zealous liberal will suggest the same for homosexuals? So long as the concept of the "psychopathic personality" is afloat—so long as the 1189 psychiatrists who responded to Ralph Ginzburg's questionaire in 1964, for his *Fact* magazine, and, without so much as five-minutes' consultation with the Senator from Arizona, branded Barry Goldwater a psychopathic personality, are considered other than unethical quacks—just so long will the liberal mentality have at its disposal a tool to use against their sick homosexual brethren.

To say, as some do, that many homosexuals have risen high in science, government, the arts, live good lives, and so forth, is irrelevant. Spanish Jews were expelled in 1492 though they had risen high in Spain. German Jews were exterminated in the hundreds of thousands, although they were a vital part of the German people. Negroes have lived blameless lives—and been lynched. It is fruitless to observe that the homosexual population is by and large decent, even beneficial to America, so long as the device of the shrill cry "Mental Illness!" is still in working order. Scapegoats do not suffer because they have committed evil acts, but because they are seen as "enemies within." As Sartre put it: "The homosexual must remain an object, a flower, an insect, and inhabitant of ancient Sodom or the planet Uranus, an automaton that hops about in the limelight, anything you like except my fellowman, except my image, except myself. For a choice must be made: If every man is all of man, this black sheep must be only a pebble or must be *me*."

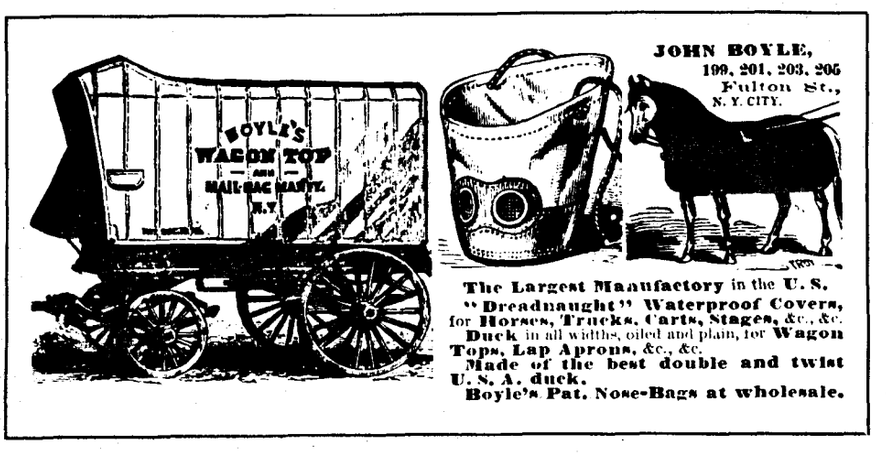
Dr. Szasz writes: "It is nothing less than obscene to talk about the homosexual as a sick person whom we are trying to help so long as, by treating him as a defective thing, we demonstrate through our actions that what we want him to be is useful, rather than annoying, an *object for us*, and that what we will not tolerate is his wanting to be an authentic *person for himself*." The brilliant psychoanalyst-sociologist Ernest van der Haag asserts: "Prohibition of homosexuality is not needed to protect society....I do not believe that homosexuality as such can or need be treated." The pain and sorrow many homosexuals endure is more a reflection of societal sexism, and the double-life that many gay people live out of fear of ostracism or punishment, than a function of "unnaturalness."

When our legislators and judges discriminate against homosexuals in the belief that they are applying the findings of modern liberal psychiatric science to the making of policy for the nation's welfare, they make a monstrous blunder. This is a kind of medical witch-hunting, doctors persecuting patients for their alleged medical heresies. Quotes Szasz: "Thus has the physician replaced the priest, and the patient the witch, in the drama of society's perpetual struggle to destroy precisely those human characteristics that, by differentiating men from their fellows, identify persons as individuals rather than as members of the herd."

IV

To argue as some conservatives do is to be needlessly harsh to a group hounded for millennia, and to "conserve" only the depressing and repressing legacies of our less happy past. To argue in the rhetoric of liberal psychiatry is equally grim, in fact more so, since the liberal argument is the dominant mode of expressing anti-homosexuality.

Even the manifestations of our currently most fashionable cultural form, the film, contribute to this morass. The homosexual is served ill by such travesties as *The Boys in the Band* and *Some of My Best Friends Are...*, which may be a homosexual's nightmare, and, for the liberal pursuer of the "in" and the "kicky," a dream come true; liberals can find so much to *sympathize* with. A way of ridiculing the homosexual, such condescension is also a way to rake in the bread, to profit indirectly from homosexuality's unpleasant situation in society. In his movie *The Damned*, Visconti equates Nazism with Sexual Decadence, arm-chair Krafft-Ebing, nothing more. Many other films suggest the same thing.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And we find similar approaches in other media. Examples are many, but one might do. In *Esquire* magazine, Malcolm Muggeridge, that journal's urbane, witty book reviewer, managed some time ago to rub Oscar Wilde's nose again in his mess. Wilde was described by Muggeridge, wholly gratuitously, as "this overweight, overblown, over-articulate sodomite," after which the article went further down-hill.

Those opposed to queer-baiting can take little comfort from the 1971 court ruling in Dallas that said Texas' sodomy statute is an unconstitutional invasion of privacy. The ruling left a loophole, which Dallas and Houston quickly filled, as will other cities, allowing the cities themselves to prohibit sodomy in public places, and to define "public place" so broadly that only the bedroom is out of bounds.

Nor, after looking at copies of the major homosexual journal, the Los Angeles *Advocate*, can one feel very sanguine about the manifestations of the so-called "new homosexuality." Despite its virtues, the *Advocate* confirms much of what anti-homosexual thinkers say, providing its own bludgeon with which queer-baiters can whonk homosexuals on the head. Gay Liberation, as the *Advocate* pictures it, manifests here and there the whining, self-pitying, special-pleading of inferior creatures begging to be thought equal, on the one hand, and, on the other, represents nothing so much as blatant, teasing, titillating cutesyness and sex come-ons, which will repel those who already think homosexuals are evil, and will evoke a chord of condescending sympathy from those who think homosexuals are sick.

Blatancy for blatancy's sake will lead to little but more repression and tension. If the American homosexual revolution succeeds, it must do so without rending the fabric of the dominant heterosexual society. It must get the aid of those conservatives who mean what they preach about liberty and individual freedom, about doing one's own thing. It must get the help of those liberals who talk endlessly about opening society, about bringing about conditions wherein true equality is possible. But it will not gain this support if it ties itself to ludicrous forms of outrageous behavior. Nor will it gain such support if it marries itself to a host of destructive movements such as the residue of the Bomber Left.

Gide wrote in *Corydon:* "In homosexuality as in heterosexuality, there are all shades and degrees, from Platonic love to lust, from self-denial to sadism, from healthy joy to moroseness, from natural development to all the refinements of vice." And if Gide's words represent special pleading from an acknowledged homosexual, so be it. The conservative must speak and act for himself, the radical for himself, the Chicano and Negro and Indian for himself, the woman for herself; so must the homosexual, aided by those heterosexuals of all persuasions politically, who do not feel threatened by the subject and can see the injustice of what is yet done to gays in our country. Honest, non-aggressive pride in being what one is has usually been considered admirable, in theory at least, by American conservatives and liberals alike; and it is part of the rhetoric of the radical Left, perhaps the most honest part of that rhetoric.

Many questions remain as to homosexuality's "cause"; these I cannot deal with for lack of special training. And what of the law? Should the laws in a decent society interfere with private, consentual sexual activities in private by mature individuals? Does society gain or lose more when such sex laws as do exist in most of our fifty states are relaxed? Where do the individual's rights and those of society conflict, and how do we resolve those conflicts?

By writing this article in *The Alternative*, with its particular readership of largely younger people—conservatives, liberals, libertarians— I have hoped to bring some measure of understanding to an abysmal historical and contemporary situation, and to encourage some discussion and perhaps some degree of improvement in the attitudes of my fellows. I offer here no answers to many pertinent questions, having intended primarily to show how harshly homosexuals have been treated in western history and how awkward is their lot today. The question of what to do now is hardly irrelevant to those who are concerned with the enhancement of individual liberties within the context of a viable, cohesive society. That question may perhaps be peripheral just now, given the more pressing plights of our society at present. Peripheral, possibly, but certainly not lacking in importance. □

THE NEWS FROM AMERICA

The grandmother of a friend of mine assures him that "today's newspaper wraps tonight's fish." Her maxim is meant as a kind of consolation, but it also goes to the essential transiency of the news, which is a curious thing. The news, after all, is made up of our very important, complicated, and exciting lives. One would think that the bulletins and extras which are regularly blared at us would be more memorable, that the momentous events which we scan on paper and television would stick in us deeply as we go about our business, would reverberate in our sleep, and shape our conduct. The truth is, however, that only by the dogged repetition of journalists are news items salvaged from instant oblivion. Not only don't we remember what happens in the news from day to day; we don't care.

The structural organization of news, of television news and newspaper news, has a great deal to do with this. That organization has been consistent over the years, and simple, and depends on a collection of items of information which in aggregate are supposed to effect a certain dramatic balance. We are always given the day's Big Story—Red China Bombs Mars — juxtaposed to the day's Little Story, how members of the 4-H Club of Ames, Iowa, made their own cow out of Sardo and linoleum. A student riot in a university is counterbalanced by the discovery of a new enzyme. There is the Great Name in the News, and the story of John Q. Public; the opulent funeral of an eastern prince set against a segment on coupling pandas. If we are shown or told about a kidnapping, we also learn of an act of bravery. If we see the damage done by an oil slick, we will also be informed of some vast community ecology project. Age versus Youth, City v. Country, Love v. Hate, Beauty v. Ugliness. Finally, when we are made sufficiently unhappy by the bulk of the news, we will be given the Lighthearted or Heart-warming Anecdote of the day, which is supposed to correspond to comic relief. On television lately, the newsmen supply this item themselves by whooping it up in desperate hilarity at the close of each program.

What newspapers and television are imitating in assembling these collections is the general form of modern American literature, particularly the American novel, since the 1930s. By the mid-1930s Eliot, Dos Passos, and others had established fragmentation, that is, the breaking of general experience into dissociated parts, as a respectable method for apprehending reality. In many ways our art and culture have yet to stray from that establishment, and for good reason. There is an impulse in all things American to speak for all things American, and fragmentation, as it allows simultaneously for a depiction of enormous diversity and implicit cohesion, has been grabbed up as an essential means of American expression. So, our newsmen have grabbed it up. Every morning, every evening, they paste the country together in one or another makeshift mosaic, and sing America, in parts.

But there is another and more specific cultural phenomenon on which the news has been modeled as well. It is the phenomenon of the photograph as intellectual or moral statement, an idea

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which first took hold in the WPA projects of the New Deal, and burgeoned in the photographic commentaries of Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor, and James Agee and Walker Evans. In the hands of such people the camera became the legitimate inquisitor of the American experience. A succession of photographs within a book or magazine was arranged to speak for the country and for itself as pictorial literature. This literature said, in effect, that there was no aesthetic or cultural unity to the nation, that various particles of reality — faces, houses, street scenes — which were caught and fixed forever by the camera were in perpetual tension, just as the parts of the nation itself were in perpetual tension. Photography was fragmentation without words, a form of imagism. Even today, Diane Arbus says in her introduction to *Aperture*, "the more specific you are, the more general it'll be."

Out of the explosion of fragmented and pictorial literature emerged a new hero in popular American culture, the reporter, or newsman. He too was born in the thirties, and has continued to grow in heroic stature since then, only recently to have that stature challenged, though not seriously shaken, by public criticism. Like the modern poet or novelist, he dealt in fragments. Like the camera, he functioned as the passive eye to external action. There was excitement to the very idea of him. With his collar up, his press card stuck in his porkpie hat, his ability to gain entrance to forbidden places, his contempt for authority, his carelessness, swagger, brashness, and disguises, he became the ideal of the detached man, a kind of existential hero. He could rove about the country taking it all in, permitting his facts to speak for America and investing these facts with high moral quality simply because they were facts, therefore pure, therefore to be associated with truth and right. His own morality was considered unimpeachable because the passive eye was considered to be uncorruptible. He became, in short, the artist of our times, not because he emitted any personal inspiration, but because he used or embodied what were judged to be the only valid instruments of art, the notebook and the lens.

As a popular hero the newsman became a permanent part of the national folklore almost immediately. He was hoisted to Hollywood by Clark Gable in *Remember the Night*, by Joel McRae in *Foreign Correspondent*, by James Stewart in *Call Northside 777*, and by a hundred other stars in a hundred other movies. He was the center of the action, honest, trust-busting, straight-talking, cocksure, relentless, and free. He pranced about our imaginations as Rosalind Russell *(His Girl Friday)*, Alistair Sim *(This Man is News)*, Spencer Tracy *(Keeper of the Flame)*, James Cagney *(Come Fill the Cup)*, Jean Arthur *(Mr. Deeds Goes to Town)*, and Orsen Welles *(Citizen Kane)*. On Broadway, *Front Page*. In the comics, Brenda Starr and Steve Roper. On the radio there was "Steve Wilson of the Illustrated Press" and "Casey, Crime Photographer" Captain Marvel, Jr., was a newsboy. Superman was a reporter in costume. Crusaders all, these fictional characters were based on a glittering chivalric image in the public mind, an image, one suspects, with which some journalists continue to decorate themselves. When John Chancellor won his reputation by clinging to his microphone while being ousted from the Republican National Convention of 1964, the guards were dragons.

It is the combination, then, of the reporter-as-Romantic-hero image and the reality-as-fragment method that we receive as our news. We receive it most clearly on radio and television where the voice and / or face of the reporter becomes part of the news presentation itself, but we also recognize it in the papers, particularly because of the prominent role of reporters in so many news events, and because of the dominant location of editorial pages. What we receive, that is, is not simply the communication of information, but a form of popular art. The news sings America, but because it holds such a high position in our culture, it also sings and celebrates itself.

As a result, or at least as one of the results, we are more often aware of the news as news than we are of any of the items it purports to bring us. Not only does the news have all the self-consciousness of popular art, which is considerable; it has all the long-lasting influence of popular art, which is none whatsoever. It is not at all surprising that the *Times* should continue to be referred to as the most influential paper in America, after having insisted that the nation go McGovern. When we use "influential" in reference to the *Times*, it has all the thrust of calling the Rockettes the most beautiful girls in the world. Despite the fact that reporters may model themselves on a heroic ideal, the truth is that they make very uninteresting heroes because they have no discernible character. The other truth is that the news, despite its imitation of a literary form, is not literature, fragmented or otherwise, because all it gives us is awareness, whereas literature must also give understanding.

All this is not to say that I think things could or should be very much better. A newspaper or news program that presented studious interpretations of world events written by complex and tortured characters would be wonderfully ludicrous, and would undoubtedly transmogrify into yet another form of pop culture itself. The news, simpleminded and transitory as it is, is probably as good as it can be. It thinks a little too well of itself as a profession, but even that helps to ward off censorship which, though less infuriating than arrogance, is worse for the spirit, and makes no heroes. One simply wishes that the news had more substance, more range, less artificial balance, and that it did not pretend so often to express the Great American Statement. There is only one true Great American statement in our culture these days, and we all know what that is. □

E.T. Veal

Booze and Pot: The Metaphysical Distinction

Suppose you enjoyed breaking the legs of small dogs. You live in a society notorious for cynophilia, so your neighbors might object. Indeed, they might haul you before a municipal court on some such unlibertarian charge as "cruelty to animals," threatening to separate you for a time from both canine and human society. How would you defend your freedom?

There are (barring a plea that mutilation of animals is symbolic speech protected by the First Amendment) two available courses. One is to explain straightforwardly to the jury why you like to break dog's legs. You might appeal to the musical sound of slowly cracking bones or to the sense of personal fulfillment to be found in mastering another being's fate or to the need for rebellion against an Establishment that employs dogs in its military operations.

Such arguments might save you from prison —by convincing your neighbors that you belonged in an asylum.

However, you might argue differently, and, I suspect, with greater prospect of success. Instead of explaining, *reclassify*. Announce that you are engaged in "scientific research," not, admittedly, of the customary, hide-bound sort, but research nevertheless. Point out that acknowleged scientists infect small dogs with painful diseases, subject them to dubious surgeries, and even, sometimes, break their legs. If society does not punish *those* researchers, why should it punish *you*? Your case may not carry the day, because the common men on juries often possess a *quantum sufficit* of common sense, but you will surely impress the judge or the Court of Appeals (for judges are educated men after the twentieth century fashion, and therefore more impressed by Classes than by Things). Thus, you may eventually win in the higher tribunals and be able to return to your individual pursuit of happiness. Maybe you will end up as an "historic case in the struggle for civil

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liberties," and be invited to address a banquet of the ACLU.

Putting Things into Classes is the beginning of reason. Imagining that this process alters the Things is the beginning of *silliness*. And *silliness is not a rare* affliction. It is not limited to madmen who establish a common ground between torture and medical research. Everyday politicians and publicists seize on the farthest-fetched analogies between A and Z to prove that placing these letters at the opposite ends of the alphabet is an illiberal prejudice that society can no longer tolerate.

This is the error that permeates most present discussion of marijuana. Both marijuana and alcohol, used in sufficient quantity, cause marked changes in behavior, most strikingly a decline in what our sober selves would call "rationality." From this point of resemblance, it has become an assumption of most debate that marijuana is simply the counter-culture's version of the martini. A favorite juxtaposition of movie and television scriptwriters is the booze-squiffing parent and the pot-smoking child. The implication is that between alcohol and marijuana, there is merely a distinction without a difference, and that Daddy is a fascist hypocrite for supporting laws that jail Sonny's friends and suppliers. The title of a recent pro-legalization-of-pot book, *Marijuana: The New Prohibition*, states the argument concisely.

In various forms, this argument has been stated so often that everyone seems to have overlooked a point that at once springs to mind as soon as one steps back and looks at the implications of the equation: it tells as heavily against pot as for it. The Old Prohibitionists, after all, were not wrong when they claimed that liquor has many effects that society would be better off without. Broken homes, barroom brawls, DT's, and hangovers were not spawned by Carrie Nation's fancies. What defeated Prohibition was not a paucity of solid arguments against alcohol's use, nor a considered decision that the use was worth the abuse, but the fact that strong drink is too firmly rooted in the affections of western man to be abolished by legislative *fiat*. Where Bacchus is not so much at home, as in the Moslem lands, governments have been able to restrict his worship and hew down his altars. American oil company employees in Saudi Arabia have discovered that they must erect clandestine stills; the *gendarmerie* has dried up the bootleg traffic in spirits.

Despite the blossoming of the counter-culture, its favored intoxicant is still no stronger here than liquor in Saudi Arabia. Confining its use to the fringes of society presents no insuperable difficulties. Ninety-five percent of Americans have no strong affection for pot. They will submit to regulation, leaving the dissenters as fish in a desert.

With no reason to fear a massive backlash of civil disobedience such as Prohibition inspired, one can make a pretty good case for depriving Sonny of his quasi-martini. Only a mad sense of fair play would say that the existence of one evil justifies the existence of all others. Because some murderers will never be caught, we don't free the ones who are (at least we didn't used to). If the rescue party arrives after half the passengers on the sinking ship are already drowned, it doesn't abandon the rest out of a sense of equity. A man who can stop an arsonist is not persuaded to refrain on the ground that the building next door has been destroyed by lightning. Similarly, on the basis of the argument we are considering, marijuana has no claim to legality just because no one has figured out an effective way to ban alcohol.

Some readers have probably already come up with an answer to my inversion of their standard debating point. They are muttering to themselves, "This fellow writes so glibly about logic, yet he's no master of the art. Look at the silly error that he's just now committed." And what, pray, is my mistake? "You assume that alcohol and marijuana have the same effects. But they don't, so your sophistical little inversion is irrelevant."

Yes, that is the proper reply. My inverted argument proceeds from a false premiss. *But I have taken that premiss from the argument that I am inverting.* If alcohol and marijuana have substantially different effects, then they are different Things belonging in different Classes. There is no more reason to accord them the same treatment than there is to give medical research grants to animal torturers. Marijuana must stand on its own, not lean on the legal priviledges of liquor.

Outside the debating room, the friends of marijuana are well enough aware that its resemblance to alcohol is remote. They never apply to the use of pot the restraints that drinkers apply to liquor as a matter of course. I fancy that the most ardent friend of bourbon would have felt it somewhat inappropriate for me to imbibe a flask of that beverage at my Yale graduation ceremony. But some of my classmates were "turning on" at the same ceremony, with no visible reprobation from their pro-marijuana comrades. As a consumer of alcohol, I should not be gleeful to learn that junior high school students were sneaking to the lavatories for shots of brandy between classes. Have you ever heard an advocate of marijuana deplore its use by teens and subteens?

As the final proof, why, except because they believe that the two substances are fundamentally different, should those who favor cannabis be so outrightly hostile toward liquor? Their writings seethe with sneer at the besotted older generation, unfavorably contrasted with their own upstanding selves. Sometimes they go further than literary attack, as when the *Yale Daily News* tried, two years back, to interest the New Haven Police in closing down Mory's. Men do not draw distinctions so bitterly unless they imagine that some real distinctions exist to be drawn.

The first obvious distinction—it may seem superficial, but it springs from something deeper—is a difference in number. Alcohol has many uses. Some men do drink to escape the world. But others drink to join it more firmly. A proper drinking party with old jokes and songs and old friends (whom you may have met only an hour ago) is, as the Greeks knew, a lifeline pulling us back to the world of things and men from the realm of introspective solitude into which it is so easy to slip (into which the solitary drunk, with his eternal, egoistic reveries, *has* slipped). This sort of drinking is not confined to festive occasions. The quiet beer after work, the quarter-hour that dissipates our narrow, fiendish concentration and prepares our spirits to receive what the world has next to offer us, is also a "social drink," though no one may be nearby. Nor should I forget that beer and wine and brandy and whiskey can be drunk from a mere liking for their aromas and tastes. If they were suddenly to lose all their physiological effects, wine would still be taken with meals and beer with snacks. Brandy would still be just the thing to round off a banquet, and whiskey would remain a noble accompaniment to the evening.

Now, marijuana may be excellent for its own peculiar use, but it has only one. It affects the mental processes. It gives rise to what its users call "new perceptions." It permits men to fly from the mundaneness of their everyday senses into a realm "sensitivity." But this is all. No one goes to a pot party simply for a sociable evening with the boys. No one puffs a non-intoxicating quantity of grass for relaxation. Never do you hear of pot-and-pretzels or of a hostess searching for the right variety of cannabis to enhance her dinner nor of anyone eulogizing the flavor of vintage reefers. Consciousness-changing is marijuana's only trade.

Its users find this trade well worth the imposts. Given encouragement, they will devote many unstoned hours to praising the pleasure, enlightenment, and insight that they find in their "new state of consciousness." They express pity for the rest of us. How much happier and wiser the world would be if everyone turned on!

Alcohol has never promised so much. Bacchus too will rescue you from the "light of common day" if you let him. He, however, says frankly that his method is to blot out the dull light, not to provide a superior illumination. If you ask him for a less drastic remedy, he points back at the world, at the very tiresomeness that you wanted to get away from. He turns your face towards the human being next to you, toward the bench you are sitting on, toward the taste and feel of the glass in your hand. *In vino veritas*—which means, truth is found *in* Things, not away from them. *In vino, in rebus, non in te ipso!*

No one should be surprised that western

Great American Series

Some of the Presidents were great and some of them weren't. I can say that, because I wasn't one of the great Presidents, but I had a good time trying to be one, I can tell you that.

Harry S Truman

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philosophy began in *symposia*, drinking parties, nor that the philosophy with such roots has always had as its central assumption the existence of an objective universe to which individual speculations must conform. The whole West, divided on everything else, unites to shout the great axiom, that thinking does not make it so.

This is not an axiom congenial to marijuana. The pot-smoker receives his "insights" by peering into himself, not by fixing his attention on the world, and he regards his inspirations as private truths. He rejects any notion of objective verification. Generously, he will allow other persons to have other truths, all these private revelations being not so much contradictory as incommensurable.

No wonder there is such hot warfare between the followers of Bacchus and the worshippers of the hempen gods from the East. The subject of their quarrel is only the universe.

The quarrel is not such as we of the West are accustomed to. It is not like the division between Plato or Aristotle or between Descartes and Kant or between any other schools of western thinkers. For these disputants could dispute. They all agreed that propositions about the universe are either true or false (or badly stated, but that is a different problem). No one suggested that contradictory ideas were both entirely correct, or that there was no way for their proponents to debate.

The metaphysics fostered by marijuana cannot dispute. Debate among the holders of private visions is not even conceivable. What would they argue about? If truth is an individual affair, how can anyone argue, except in the manner of people "arguing" about their favorite colors?

The chasm is complete. Every time one side begins an argument by pointing to the universe, the other will reply by pointing to himself, and each will be firmly convinced that his antagonist is fatuous.

This is why marijuana has such deadly import for the survival of society. It is the missionary of falsehood. It provides an irrational tug toward the abandonment of the western axiom of a real universe. Where reason is speechless, moods and emotions are powerful orators. We have good reason to fear these orators. Long before Freud, the West knew that the pit of man's soul is not a garden of delights; it rots with delusions and devils. We do not want the truths dredged from that mire.

In the deepest folds of Bacchus, men see pink elephants. They are, to the eye, funny creatures, more likely to raise a smile than a whiff of terror. But today marijuana is encouraging men to release those elephants from their cages and ride them pell-mell through the world. It may prove that what looks pink at a distance is really not so lovely. □

George Carey

A Quiet Moment with Averell Harriman

This interview was conducted by Mike Wallace of the Columbia Broadcasting Network in March 1973. The interviewee, Averell Harriman, is noted for his long and distinguished service to the American Republic. He was a former governor of the great state of New York and has served as a special diplomatic adviser to many of our past presidents. (Reprinted without the permission of the Columbia Broadcasting Network.)

Mr. Wallace: Mr. Harriman, you have for some time been considered one of our true elder statesmen. You have been through it all — the good and the bad. I would like to ask what your lasting impressions are as one of our senior diplomats over the last century or so.

Mr. Harriman: Thank you so much. You flatter me. I have never really considered myself as an elder statesman. Statesman is the proper word — but as for elder, I demur. You know that you are as young as your thoughts. I prefer to think that I have many, many, productive years ahead of me in the field of diplomacy. You see, diplomacy is an art that can only be fully developed after several years of intensive practice. I am sure that the State Department will find some niche for me in the not too distant future. I love to travel and mingle with peoples of a different culture. The fact is, you know, that we learn so much from peoples with a different culture. To some degree, they learn from us. That has been my motto: Learn all you can about different cultures.

W: How wonderful. But what is it that you have learned over these many years in diplomatic service?

H: To love people. Genuinely love people. I think Eleanor Roosevelt understood this. I don't think we can make any progress until we recognize this. You see over there my pear tree?

W: Oh yes. I see it. How beautiful. You must eat a lot of pear pudding.

H: One would think so, but actually the doves eat the pears. We have very little to eat in the way of pears. Surely the doves would upset most people. But not me. My extensive experience tells me that the doves deserve their due and what a small sacrifice it is for me to have such a wonderful pear tree.

W: I can see that you are a true humanitarian. But what is it that lead you to this philosophy? What. . .

H: A keen knowledge of history. The English as you well know tried to attack Spain and the French, in turn, launched an Armada against England, thinking that the Spanish would come to their defense. But this was way back when, before I was born.

W: You mean to say the Spanish launched an Armada, don't you?

H: No, definitely not. The French did it. I think history will prove me right. How silly it would have been for Spain to have launched the Armada. Leonard would never have permitted this.

But you can perceive how our history is distorted. The fact is that it was Queen Isabel of France who ordered the Armada. Leonard had nothing to do with it.

Well, enough. . .I am taking you into the depths of history. . .

W: Well, let us leave aside the intricate historical points which you raise. What do you feel have been your major accomplishments during your career?

H: I can think of many. You know that I was one of the chief advisers to President Roosevelt and I will never forget our negotiations at Yalta. We were absolutely superb in our efforts to contain the Soviet Union. I briefed the President before his departure to Yalta. If only he had lived, I think we could have come to some accommodation with the Soviet Union. The President, Franklin Roosevelt, that is, really knew how to handle the Russian Bear.

It was a shame he was cut down so early in his career. I can see him now — do you see? Under the pear tree, playing with the doves. I can see him so clearly. . .every once in a while I have these visions of the Great Man strolling through my yard. How great he was! Giant among men. Uncle Joe, as much as we loved him, each in our own way, was no match for Franklin. Yes. . .that's what I called him, Franklin — one day he put his arm around me and said "I will call you Abe and you call me Franklin." What a touching moment that was. I knew I was next to greatness. . .

W: Mr. Harriman, please don't cry. We all know what a great man FDR was and, if he lived he could have won a fifth, sixth, or seventh term. We all loved him very much.

H: Yes, yes. . .but you will never know. . .his true greatness. . .

W: If you can collect yourself, sir, I would like to ask a few more questions.

H: By all means. My butler has brought me my towels. Please note they were all made by union labor. You can clearly see the label here — you see this little tab? I'm keen about this. I don't buy any product produced by non-union labor. Woe is me!! Why did you have to bring up this point? My father,

Great American Series

My father was not a failure. After all, he was the father of a President of the United States.

Harry S. Truman

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next to FDR, was one of the greatest men who ever lived. . . .

W: I'm sure of that. Please, sir, I just wanted to ask about foreign relations. Aside from Yalta what do you consider to be your major accomplishments as a statesman?

H: This is a difficult question to answer. I have so many notable accomplishments. Let me think now. . .see how those doves eat the pears!! Look!! They're really going at it. How does that song go? Something about partridges and a pear tree. . .but there are no partridges around. Funny about that. We used to have lots of partridges. I suspect that they want to leave our environment because of pollution. . .well, the doves stay. As you know I am really keen on this environmental issue. I firmly believe we ought to stop dumping excess oil into the oceans. And that goes for mercury, too. I have taken a firm stand on all these issues. I'm solidly with Rader's Raiders. Oh! If only Franklin were here — this whole mess would be cleared up in short order. He had a great talent and wits. He would arrange somehow to bring my partridges back. I know he would.

W: Sir, I asked what you think to be your notable accomplishments in the field of foreign affairs.

H: Oh, yes, you are from CBS. Are we being taped? You know that I don't like being taped. It's not a good idea to be taped. This practice must be stopped. Innocent citizens can be prosecuted for what they say.

W: I assure you that our files are confidential. We will not give them out to the public under any circumstances. We have unlimited abuse of the First Amendment. But please answer my question: What other accomplishments in the area of foreign affairs, aside from the Yalta conference, do you consider significant?

H: My supreme accomplishment was. . . look, my ducks are coming over to attack the doves!!! Well, let that matter go. I'm sure they will work it out to their mutual satisfaction.

President Wilson, next to Franklin and my father, was one of my idols. I loved him very dearly. If only we had tried harder to make the World safe for democracy. . .but I digress. Your question?

W: Aside from the Yalta conference what do you consider to be your major accomplishment as statesman?

H: Now, see!! The cats are jumping over the wall. Look at the birds fly — even my doves. See. Pretty soon the cats will be in the goldfish pond. The goldfish are defenseless as you know — some undergraduates used to swallow them alive. During the 1920s I believe.

What was your question?

W: Aside from the Yalta conference what do you consider to be your major accomplishment as a statesman?

H: God. I hope the hawks don't come down. I was sitting down here one day and a vulture sat right next to me. Can you believe it? My real concern is for the Bald Eagle.

W: I share your concern for the Bald Eagle. Isn't it a real shame that so many Americans shoot the Bald Eagle? Sometimes they think they are shooting a sparrow or a duck. That's why I favor a law against the possession and use of all hand guns. Somebody could kill himself but, even worse, destroy our ecological balance.

H: How true. But these damned cats. And here in Georgetown it really comes down to the messy dogs. Oh, how I hate them.

W: I can see your point. In New York the situation is the same. Not so much with cats as with dogs. You see we don't have so many birds or trees in New York.

H: Yes, yes. I see your point. And then there is the problem of rat control. Cats can help out here.

W: But aside from Yalta, what. . .??

H: You know me well enough to answer that question. I am as you said a statesman. I have good rapport with the leaders of the Soviet Union. I plan to take a trip to China. I will serve my country in any capacity. I am a devoted servant. You can trust in me. My fondest wish is that the government will put me on one of their postage stamps — or a coin of some sort — for my devoted service to the Republic.

W: Thank you so much for your candid comments. It has been a pleasure and honor to talk with you. □

"IS IT ALL *a double-cross,/ Making Brennan labor boss? / Does it mean the man is deft? / Or just moving further left? / Does it strengthen our defense/ Stopping Teddy four years hence? / Mrs. Tricia Nixon Cox,/Daddy's crazy like a fox.*

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Book Review

Public Education on the Defensive

Deschooling Society
by Ivan Illich
Harper & Row, $1.25 p.b.

Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schooling in America
by Christopher Jencks and associates
Basic Books, $12.50

Do schools matter? Silly question say the teachers, *The New York Times*, and the aging devotees of the Great Society. Of course they matter, if they have enough money, enough talented (and well-paid) humanitarians in the classroom, a renovated curriculum, and a comfy building. No reasonable person could think otherwise.

Yet the recent paranoia among schoolmen suggests that the silly question is getting asked altogether too often. Regular readers of Albert Shanker's paid column in the *Sunday Times* are treated to the best-placed and most readable sample of an educator taking it seriously enough to spend a fair chunk of his membership's hard-earned dues to answer it. Those who risk the turgid pages of the professional journals regularly see stronger, if less lucid, responses. And bookstore patrons know that every shipment of new works contains a choice sampling of volumes by ex-teachers who retired to Vermont after a year in the ghetto to pen their bitter-but-loving memoirs of oppressed children and oppressive bureaucracies. They, too, are counter-attacking, seeking to prove that the only thing that keeps schools from mattering more is their own management.

The American public school — now so obsessed with self-justification — employs nearly three million people to tend the waking hours of some fifty million youngsters at an annual cost to the taxpayers of nearly $40 billion. Public relations is one thing, but what need has such a sturdy fortress for a militia? Surely the source of the new unease is something more than compulsory lunchroom duty or hostility to the new math. Could it be muggings in the classroom? Weary citizens voting down bond issues? Possibly.

Among the more literate segments of the teaching population, however, the more likely answer is that they are fighting against *books*. A handful of recent volumes is jolting the educators right down to their learned marrow. Written by social scientists and social philosophers, they dare what few previous critiques of the classroom have attempted: they suggest that perhaps schools *are not very important:* that the cherished institution is, if not the creator of social problems, at least not the solution to many. Neither will tinkering with it, spending on it, or blindly believing in it have much effect. Schools are overrated.

For a half-century, schoolmen have been accustomed to reading that schools don't work as well as they *should*, that this reform or that innovation will bring them closer to realizing their great mandate. The education establishment has

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responded in the fashion of any large and well-entrenched institution; like the Navy or the automobile industry, the schools have changed, albeit in a leisurely and somewhat random fashion, tending over time to keep up with the expectations of their critics, their customers, and, most importantly, their taxpayers. Whether the providers have secretly shaped the expectations of the consumers is not terribly important. Symbiosis has been the norm. Predictably, expenditures have soared; "For the past ten years," Daniel P. Moynihan writes, "the proportion of Gross National Product expended on elementary and secondary education has risen at a rate almost half again that of the GNP itself."

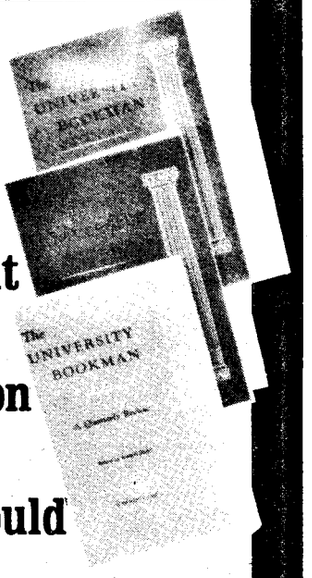
The new critics menace that relationship that earlier generations tended to reinforce. The assertion that schools, even schools at their best, are not very important to society, is a devastating charge, for it is the one claim that the institution itself cannot rebut without appearing wholly self-interested. And although American society is notably tolerant of institutions enlarging their share of the nation's wealth while the facade of altruism remains intact, we have never been much impressed with visible greed in any part of the "public sector."

In the past two years, Ivan Illich and Christopher Jencks have become prominent among those rattling the foundations of the American public school. They come at their subject from different perspectives, and they engage in wholly different modes of criticism, yet they end at much the same place: we can't expect very much from schools, so those who seek much from man and society had better place their bets elsewhere and concentrate their energies and their treasure in more promising pursuits.

Jencks turns to socialism to ameliorate the ills that schools can't cure; Illich would de-institutionalize and reorder society around what he calls "learning webs." Both seek far more radical changes than do most idolaters of the public school, and both are for that reason much harder to rebut from the perspective of conventional liberal social reform. It would be so much simpler if they were child-haters or budget-cutters instead of social revolutionaries.

Jencks is not "against schools." Instead, he is "for equality," and chooses to gauge society's progress toward equality in terms of adult status and income distribution. He reviews the major studies of the past decade in search of evidence that schools in particular, and education in general, are potent means of insuring a fair allocation of job prestige and dollars, and finds that they are not. As Paul Weaver has summarized *Inequality's* message in these pages, "Its key conclusion is that, within the range of school quality in America today, this effect (of schools) is negligible. A student who goes to a 'good' school does not, on average, learn more, or earn more as an adult, than he would have if he had gone to a 'bad' school."

In what Weaver calls a "crashing *non sequitur*," Jencks then turns to drastic income redistribution — socialism — as the likeliest means of effecting equality.



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He does not, however, drop the other shoe and suggest that we might spend less on schools, or reduce the amount of time people are obliged to spend in them, or even close some of them altogether. Instead he urges a more existential treatment: begin to view schooling "as an end in itself rather than a means to some other end." He would have us reform schools into pleasurable places of intellectual stimulation, personal growth, and social awareness instead of learning factories.

On the face of it, this recommendation will please most schoolteachers and reformers, for it meshes with their liberated view of the learning process and frees them from the need to justify their work with those damnable achievement tests. Educators with a somewhat longer view, however, realize full well that this is building a classy new schoolhouse on a bed of quicksand, for Jencks' *analysis* could as easily lead us in quite different directions. His fundamental point, that schools aren't very important — *and never can be* — in terms of the things he considers fundamental, is at heart an argument for assigning schools a lesser role than they have grown accustomed to.

Illich is more direct. His title indicates a certain skepticism about the role of schools in society, and his text sustains the tone. As befits a work by the director of something called the "Center for Intercultural Documentation" in Cuernavaca, Mexico, this is a bold little volume, unconfined by the borders of any one nation, in which "schooling" serves as metaphor for all the "bureaucratic agencies of the corporate state."

Those "false public utilities," the schools, are made out to be monopolistic, elitist, coercive, inherently unequal, pedagogically ineffective, largely trivial, and destructive of the creativity lurking in every man. At bottom, Illich sees schools as ill-disguised agencies of social control which perpetuate inequalities, give formal sanction to exclusivity (as in degrees, teacher licences, and the like), and foster cultural homogeneity.

Polemic indeed. Illich appears to share the radical egalitarianism of the counterculture, in which everyone has something to teach and — with becoming modesty — much to learn. The society should facilitate, certainly should not impede, the creation of linkages that bring incipient Aristotles together with aspiring Platos.

These linkages — Illich calls them "learning webs" or "opportunity networks" — amount to a kind of Whole Earth Catalog of learning resources combined with a switchboard and arrangement for bringing one who wants to learn something together with someone who already knows it. No licenses are involved, and nothing is obligatory.

The occasional "free school," open high school, Montessori classroom, rural commune, or experimental college already proceeds on principles not too different from these. But Illich would not confine his notions to the elite — or far out — fringes of society. For a central theme with him is that the poor and downtrodden are the chief victims of contemporary schooling. It offers a false promise of equality, a redistribution that benefits only the already-favored, a set of barriers masquerading as opportunities.

It is here that the common strands in Illich and Jencks begin to appear. Neither can abide the deception of an equalizing institution that not only fails to lift the poor out of poverty, but also bestows its rewards (and its payroll) in sectarian fashion on its own annointed, while diverting huge chunks of the nation's tax revenues from other, less cramped purposes. Jencks simply says we should recognize the limitations of school, make the best of it, and work toward equality through other means. Illich puts the school to a similar test — how much good or bad does it do the poor? — and elects to punish its failure by abolishing it altogether.

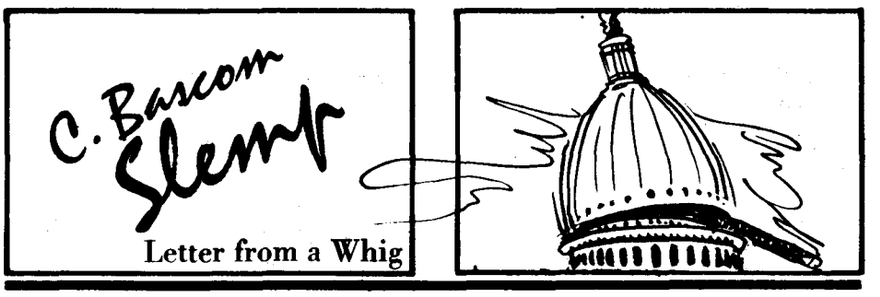
Neither writes off education, but each despairs of making it correlate with other, larger purposes such as equality of income, status, or personal happiness. It is in this quest for correlation that the new critics differ from their predecessors. The one sequence that schools are least experienced with and least able to withstand is the hypothesizing of a large instrumental purpose for the schools followed by *careful measurement* to see whether the results justify the hopes. Heretofore the relationship was taken for granted, indeed schooling was assumed to correlate with practically every honorable goal the society could devise. That is the basis for its steadily expanding share of the GNP: it has had a steadily expanding set of missions.

Illich and Jencks partake of the growing tendency to judge society's processes in terms of their results, rather than simply setting goals, providing resources, and taking outputs for granted. Illich's wry observation that "Schools create jobs for schoolteachers, no matter what their pupils learn from them," is so obvious that one is astonished not that he says it but that it wasn't until the monumental "Coleman Report" of 1966 that people began questioning whether education is adequately gauged by the conventional criteria of schooling — money per pupil, student per teacher, books per library. And if school inputs cannot even be certain to produce such a direct outcome as "learning," what of such ambitious goals as social mobility?

It is their acceptance of an output standard that brings both authors — and a handful of other contemporary critics — to the judgement that schools are not very effective. Once at the lip of that precipice, one either edges along, looking for changes within the schools that may somehow, someday make them more "effective," or one jumps over in search of different instrumentalities.

Jencks and Illich both jump, the one not quite admitting it, the other shouting it all the way. It isn't necessary to agree with their choice of landing spots to share their unease with the old school verities. At minimum, one leaves them with a growing suspicion that the teacher is not always right, that the teacher's union has reason to be worried, and that questions about the effectiveness of schools are not silly in the least.

Chester Finn



MORE FIGHTING OVER LESS SPENDING

(WASHINGTON) —Most everyone in town expects the always tenuous relations between the White House and Congress to completely break down by the end of the month. Even before Congress convenes, House Democrats have voted by an overwhelming margin to oppose the President on Vietnam and seventeen senators have filed suit to prevent him from impounding funds appropriated by the Congress.

Thus, in spite of the President's overwhelming victory over George McGovern in November, his operatives are being reminded that liberal Democrats dominate to Senate, are gaining more and more influence in the House, and simply do not intend to let the President get away with very much this time around.

The liberal cause will inadvertently receive support from non-liberal and conservative congressmen and senators who are either upset with the President or concerned about what many see as the diminished role of the Congress in our government. Many incumbent Republican congressmen and senators complained during the course of the campaign that their efforts were being undermined by Nixon operatives working through the Committee to Re-Elect the President. They felt that committee fund-raisers were drying up funds they desperately needed and were put off by what they saw as the highhanded manner of the second-echelon people they were forced to deal with. The embarrassment of Watergate and the failure of the President to campaign for some of them added to the bad feeling.

The President's people, for their part,

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argue that they did help by channeling some money into crucial campaigns and dismissed as a copout the charges made against the President himself. The merits of the case, however, are less important than the feelings of those on the Hill who blame the President and appear intent on getting even with him.

The second factor that will lead some normally conservative congressmen and senators to support liberal attacks on the President's programs is more serious. There is a widespread feeling that the Congress has allowed the executive branch to get away with too much in recent years and many senior congressmen and senators have become increasingly alarmed by this trend. Thus, the attack on the President's power to impound funds has the support of men like Sam Irvin and James Eastland as well as Vance Hartke and Ralph Nader. If they win, they will be reasserting their power all right, but they will also make it very difficult for the President either to hold the line on federal spending or gain much real control over the various federal agencies.

Last Fall many of those who supported the President's proposed spending ceiling did so because they felt the Congress was simply refusing to confront the problem of matching income to spending. The spending ceiling never was adopted, although it did get through the House, and the President began impounding funds to stave off the huge deficit that seemed inevitable a year or so ago. During the campaign and since the election, he has continually stressed the need for restraint, and his ability to impound appropriated funds looms as a major weapon in his fight against runaway spending. If the Congress or the Courts take that weapon from him many believe that there will be little anyone can do about either the size of the government or the burgeoning deficits that threaten the value of the American dollar.

There can be little doubt that the President has decided to go after waste in all areas and after substance in several. He is aware of the fact that unless he does so, we will be faced with a deficit that could trigger a new inflationary spiral in spite of the economic controls now being used to keep the lid on. His economic advisors have told him that he must either cut spending or raise taxes in order to reduce this swelling deficit, and his political advisors have informed him that the American people aren't in any mood for new taxes.

Thus, he rejected the advice of those who said he would have to raise taxes or "reform" the tax system in a way designed to increase revenues, and he has apparently scrapped the idea of a value-added tax which might have allowed Washington to extract more money from the average American with less pain. He has embarked on what appears to be a serious campaign against the wasteful federal bureaucracy.

This is a course that must of necessity result in confrontation after confrontation with the Congress. Every agency and program has some sort of a constituency on the Hill and one can safely assume that dozens of bureaucrats are at this very moment burning up the phone lines to mobilize their friends and defenders. And if preliminary indications mean anything, conservatives as well as liberals will feel the heat as their favorite programs get the knife because it now appears that cuts will be made on something like an across the board basis. This is not to say that defense spending and social welfare programs will ultimately be cut to exactly the same degree, but it does mean that a concerted effort is going to be made to cut back in all areas — including defense.

Given this fact, the appointment of Elliott Richardson as Secretary of Defense makes as much sense as sending Cap Weinberger over to HEW. Each man is viewed as essentially hostile to the self-defined goals the agency is to manage. Therefore, each can be expected to look rather skeptically at budget requests emanating from bureaucratic subordinates. The appointments when viewed from this perspective are certainly logical enough, and one can hardly question the President's intent. He has said he wants to get at the waste and he is appointing people he thinks will do the job for him.

But still there is something wrong with what's going on. The course he is charting may prove politically dangerous for the reasons outlined above and because he is apparently going to take on everyone at once, and it begs the important substantive questions that should be asked about the goals and values of various government programs. In other words, a simple across the board attack on spending, while admirable in that it could save everyone some money, does not in itself constitute much of a policy. There is undoubtedly a good bit of waste in the best of programs, but some of them are necessary and others are not. An across the board attack on everything will perhaps reduce the size of things, but is not likely to improve the quality of government very significantly. To do this one must separate the good programs from the bad so as to save the one and eliminate the others. Washington observers are waiting to see whether the President's people are willing or able to make the necessary distinctions to accomplish this. □

Book Review

The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperative:

A Primer on Communist Civilization.
by Leopold Tyrmand
Macmillan Company, $5.95

From time to time whenever he gets a bit impish or high, a friend of mine is given to shouting at the top of his voice, in his very worst Werner Klemperer accent, "Into the compound!" I laugh every time — but why? Do I laugh at the performance? Do I laugh at the whole notion of anyone ever actually having been sent into a compound? Do I laugh because I'm drunk?

Leopold Tyrmand has been living in the United States since 1966 and now has elected to write a witty book about life under communism in the USSR. His book is not well written; it is, in fact, quite naive and corny in parts. Whole chapters (to borrow a phrase from the late Canadian humorist, Stephen Leacock) seem to have been translated out of the original Russian by machinery. But there is something very worthwhile here, particularly in the chapters "How to be a child" and "How to be a Jew." If you can cope with Tyrmand's godawful style, or if you're the sort of person who thinks "Hogan's Heroes" is an amusing TV series, there are plenty of raisins in this thin cookie.

Tyrmand (a Polish emigre, by the way, not a Russian) has learned to "hate communism for the evil it contain(s).And also to fear it for its metaphysical power to hold more and more and more evil." (The quotation is featured prominently in a number of advertisements for the book.) Quite frankly, I don't much care for the bitterness underlying the quotation and the book: unrelieved cynicism really turns me off, and *The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperative* is the work of a man beside himself with hatred. It is a book written for a special readership.

Yet, Tyrmand has done something very worth noticing, for all his bitterness. He has somehow managed to write a witty tract about life under communism — a tract that asks us to laugh at the indignities and insanities of life in a Marxist society while forgetting about the horrors. There are wry smiles on almost every page. In the chapter on "How to use the mails," for example, Tyrmand explains that when a letter is deposited in a mailbox in the Soviet Union, there is no guarantee that the mailbox will ever be emptied. The letter may stay in the mailbox for days, then be removed and opened and re-sealed and stamped "Damaged En Route." Or it may simply disappear altogether.

In the chapter on children, we are up against a man who perfectly understands young people. Children in Russia, we are told, learn very early how to protect themselves; they learn very early to observe their parents, to watch for phoniness, cynicism, dishonesty. When Santa Claus is presented as a figure symbolizing western imperialism, and

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Grandfather Frost is substituted as a figure drawn from old Russian folk mythology. Little Soviet children learn to smile. The smiles are not ironic, of course, for young children do not understand irony; but there is something instructive in them. "In remote out-of-the-way collective farms," Tyrmand says, "the American used to frighten children. Not because an American means anything to people who have never seen one with their own eyes, but precisely because he means nothing and functions as little more than a symbol established by an obsession not subject to control." In a certain Hungarian city, immediately after the suppression of the 1956 insurrection by Soviet tanks, the Communists — with a tact unique to them — erected a monument to Soviet-Hungarian friendship. Passing by it, a boy asked his father, "Daddy, what's that?" "That's a monument to Soviet-Hungarian friendship," came the reply. "But why in our country, Daddy?" the boy asked. (The laugh expected should rattle, not bubble).

In the chapter on Jews, Tyrmand hits one homer after another. As we all know, the Jews as a people are responsible for communism, just as in the Middle Ages they were responsible for epidemics, crop failures, earthquakes, and floods. This explains why Jews in Russia have approximately the same rights as hamsters. Some Jews have been important communists; some have actively participated in the persecution of other Jews in Communist countries; some have been traitors to themselves. Millions, however, have not. Tyrmand describes the status of Communist Jews in a way calculated to unsettle even the most self-centered, apathetic Americans (or Israelis). "It is my conviction," he writes, "that every totalitarian doctrine must violently turn against the Jews in its assumptions and rationalizations. Totalitarian ideologies are by nature utopian and their ultimate goal, theoretical as well as practical, is to create a definitive vision of the world and life, to establish a static model the finality of which is subject to neither criticism nor modification." (There's more, but as I've said, Tyrmand's translated syntax is just godawful.)

Other chapters "On private initiative," "How to go through a university without losing faith in life" (he scores! he scores!), "How to be a woman," "How to survive a maternity hospital and a state-controlled nursery," "How to take advantage of the invention of the telephone," "How to die" (One should arrange to die at a convenient time, inconspicuously if possible. "This is especially true of prominent people..."), are moderately funny — but why? Do we laugh at Tyrmand's performance? Do we laugh at the whole notion of anyone ever actually living under communism? Do we laugh because we're drunk?

I've had an opportunity to collect quite a number of East European jokes, and though I think my sense of humor is as well developed as anybody's, I don't find the jokes funny, for some reason. Most fit into the category of things we laugh at (in the words of the late Robert Benchley) "to keep the blood back." Tyrmand's book gives us what might be called a lighter view of Marxism-Leninism, something to laugh at when there isn't anything else. But then, the author confesses he "did not write this book for Czechs, Poles, or Ukrainians, because they already know how to live under communism. I wrote it for the people of the democratic West who, when they meet refugees from communism in their countries, are amazed at their bitter, festering, inexpressible, and inarticulate hatred of communism, a hatred which is also full of wisdom. When the refugees are asked why they fled, they have so much to say that they are unable to give a simple, clear, and coherent answer."

Kenneth P. Shorey

Book Review

A New Isolation: Threat or Promise

by Robert W. Tucker

Universe Books, $6.00

A stranger political coalition may never be assembled than that ragtag band of pacifists, socialists, fellow-travelers, and conservatives that opposed American military intervention abroad in the late 1930s. On the Left were such grand old campaigners as Charles Beard and Norman Thomas; the right wing was graced by Herbert Hoover, Harry Elmer Barnes, and Senator Robert A. Taft. All united as one under the gaudily ecumenical banner of isolationism.

None of these unlikely partners in peace believed that the United States should become literally isolated from the rest of the world, although most argued that such an alternative was at least strategically and economically feasible. What they wanted, simply and to a man, was that the United States forswear entry into a second world war. Those on the Left believed that American involvement would only usher in military dictatorship at home: fascism through the back door. Conservatives argued that participation in a war would bring on the final triumph of "liberal" collectivism. Herbert Hoover told the Council on Foreign Relations in 1938, "...democracies are first infected by the plausible motives of 'cure the business slump' through so-called economic planning. Every step in this direction requires another .... And step by step more force and coercion must be applied until all liberty — economic, personal, and political — is lost."

Isolationists of the late 1930s, wary of assigning moral superiority to any belligerent after the excesses of World War I propagandists, refused to acknowledge the *causus belli* of right and wrong. Later, many looked with undisguised glee on the possibility of a final military showdown between Stalin and Hitler. (Fascism and communism were as different, Nock observed, as competing brands of toothpaste.) Isolationists believed in the impregnability of the Western Hemisphere (if Hitler couldn't cross the English Channel, they asked, how could he land an army in New Jersey?). They argued for the soundness — moral and strategic — of going it alone internationally and in the powerlessness of the United States to effect lasting changes in the world.

The "new isolationism" proposed by Robert W. Tucker of Johns Hopkins University bears a plausible, but by no means perfect, resemblance to its ill-fated predecessor of less than forty years ago. Both Tucker and his forbears argued that isolation as a policy is best understood metaphorically; neither school pressed for a literal quitting of the world. But while Hoover, Thomas, and Taft believed that the United States owed the world nothing except a good example, Tucker argues for American participation in peaceful international projects and economic aid to the Third World. Central to both old and new schools is the conviction that if necessary, the United States could get along with very little foreign trade. And Tucker, like the old isolationists, eschews moral crusading as the basis of foreign policy.

There is nothing new in the gist of Tucker's analysis; what sets it apart from other anti-interventionist and "realist" arguments is its severity. The United States should not merely withdraw from Indochina and dicker with the Russians for mutual reductions of strength in Europe — it should disown the entire postwar alliance structure, pack up its foreign bases, maintain a respectable nuclear deterrent, and say to hell with everything else.

We will probably never know what would happen if Tucker's book became foreign policy, and given the brashness of his proposals, Tucker himself may be as relieved on that score as the rest of us. His ideas are the stuff that every student of foreign relations has toyed with, Mitty-like, at one time or another. But brashness is not wisdom, and there is much in Tucker's thesis that does not ring true. His view of the Cold War — that it is over — may be premature, and his analysis certainly slights the role an activist American foreign policy has already played in relieving East-West tension. And if the Cold War rekindles, could the United States assume a position of leadership after having forsworn any future international involvement?

What is finally missing from Tucker's "new isolationism" is the abiding mistrust of the state — a mistrust that provided the

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The Bootblack Stand

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, is celebrating the publication of his new book, which is now available at *avant-garde* bookstores throughout New Jersey. Dr. Plunkitt's book is about the importance of altruism in politics and it is titled *What's in It for Me?* Although Dr. Plunkitt expects to earn ten million dollars from sales of his new book, he has agreed to continue to advise public figures through this column. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, c/o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, Continental U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

Just yesterday I was lunching in the Senate dining room, rapping with one of my colleagues, a distinguished gentleman of the opposition, a Republican. Lamentably and unfortunately our session became quite hot. We never seemed to settle anything; nothing was resolved. The conversation began to degenerate when I got onto what I suppose you could call my pet subject, the old Gillette Blue Blade. I use it all the time, and I will continue to use it regardless of the new stuff the ad people come out with. And there are thousands of people just like me in lands all around the world. Well as I was saying this he made an unkind remark about the way I eat my soup (I use both hands). Then I told him I just love the decor of the new Howard Johnsons. You know it's so *clean* and their pot pies are yummy! Well he likes Sheratons. So I tried to avoid politics and attempted to brighten up the conversation by saying that I thought Negroes were getting lighter. He exploded. It was too much for me; I knew he had serious problems, but I never guessed he was a racist. What makes people act that way?

Sincerely,
Senator (Name Withheld)

Dear Senator:

The pull of the planets. I have no doubt in my mind that had the stars, the galaxies, the solar systems, and even a few clouds been in different positions this Republican would have agreed with you — especially about Blue Blades. He would have smiled on your every illumination. Not long ago I too would have taken issue with your declarations on the Blue Blade, but today — as Mars crosses the celestial vault just so — I am moved to reconsider. You see, all fate reposes in the peregrinations of the bodies of the firmament. Trust to the stars. Your colleague, J. William Fulbright from the advanced state of Arkansas, has done as much and his sagacity boggles the mind. Years ago he was a roaring internationalist. Then in the early 1960s he rushed us along the road to Vietnam. Now he is a resolute spokesman for surrounding America with a Great Wall somewhat on the order of that employed by the Ch'in dynasty of old China. Some have called this a tergiversation and a botch. But they have not considered Orion and Sagittarius, Pluto and Saturn. Nightly the Rt. Hon. Fulbright watches this choreography of the universe and he acts accordingly. He can make no error, not in the eyes of those who love cats and read chicken entrails.

—GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

I know you to be an expert on the Court and Constitutional Law.

I am writing a term paper for one of my English professors. It is an honors course. Usually we are not required to write papers. In fact, I have never written any papers. I have dealt extensively with the various aspects of our immorality with respect to the Soviet Union, The People's Republic of China, and North Vietnam. I am a straight "A" student.

My question is this: In light of the present Supreme Court ruling concerning capital punishment, can't we say that all punishment is bad; that is, that punishment of any kind is not a deterrent to "crime"? I understand very well that we can legislate morality, but I don't see where in our constitutional system we should punish people for their mistakes.

Yours Very Faithfully,
Saylord Pointsett

Dear Master Pointsett:

You deserve the "D" you will probably get in your course, and that as a reward for effort only. The issue is not whether all punishments are or are not cruel and unusual. The point is that successful penalties are forbidden by the Consittution. If Congress fixes a penalty which actually causes people to refrain from committing the crime, then application of the penalty will become a most unusual occurrence, will it not? Then, when the crime has actually ceased to be frequently committed, it will become evident, that the penalty is indeed an unusual one and the SC will be required to declare the penalty unconstitutional and instruct the lower federal courts to devise one or more penalties which will not in fact deter the committing of the crime. Thereafter we can have a situation where the application of the penalty becomes a familiar everyday affair.

You will now see that there has been a higher legal consideration operating among the judges in respect to making life easier for the criminals and the lawyers who live off their crimes. By tightening up the requirements for arrest, trial, conviction, etc., the judges have given both tried and true criminals and would-be criminals assurance that they will get off scot free. This moves each category of *penalties* over into the class of unusual and so finally makes it perfectly clear to dunderheads like you that the judges have a clear, obvious, undeniable obligation to invalidate the penalty. Thereafter, when there is no penalty for the crime, the judges can bear down again and enforce all other constitutional guarantees in favor of the fellow who has been done in by the criminal.

This circular process conforms nicely to older notions of progress and newer ideas of the desirability of constant change, and so finds favor in the eyes of both conservative and liberal wings of the judiciary.

—GWP

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theoretical cornerstone for the old isolationism. (A quotation by Senator Fulbright to the effect that a forward foreign policy is incompatible with domestic liberty seems to have satisfied Tucker in this regard.) We can forgive Taft, Hoover, and Barnes an early misreading of the international situation because of their insight into what war might do to swell the already overblown state. Tucker has called for a quitting of America's twenty-five-year vigil. He has advocated what is probably an unwise course, but worse, he has not even done so for the right reasons.

James Grant

WEAVER

(continued from page 4)

gan in 1964 ended in 1968 and have not recurred; campus disruption and violence reached a peak in 1970 and disappeared immediately from public awareness and almost as quickly from the academy itself; the intense waves of public concern over civil rights, the poor, the war, ecology, and other such matters seem to have receded, and nothing has yet taken their place; the New Politics, so expansive in 1968, would appear to have been discredited by the debacle of 1972; the spirit of crisis and confrontation, both foreign and domestic, that pervaded the decade has largely passed from the scene; the drug revolution, the sexual revolution, radical chic, the mini-skirt, Black Panthers — all have faded from our consciousness. Indeed, the personalities and movements which gave the decade its special character have themselves begun to confess defeat and failure, have become disorganized and demoralized, have, as it were, lost their voices. Add to all this the fact that the past four years of the Nixon Administration, the prospect of four more, and the extraordinary size of Nixon's recent margin of victory. What could be more unassailable than the proposition that the sixties are definitively over?

And yet, until quite recently, the op-

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posite view has seemed to me at least as plausible, for two major reasons. First, there is the fact that while all the movements, personalities, ideas, and moods that characterized the sixties have undoubtedly lost their cutting edge and *elan*, they still retain their troops, or anyway their constituencies. The academy, for instance, exhibits more or less the same distribution of opinions today as in 1968; if there has been a retreat from the habits of activism, there has been no retreat from the ends in behalf of which students and faculty once practiced activism. Much the same can be said of the blacks, the helping professions (and increasingly all professions), the various mass media (especially the movies), and so on. Indeed, in some areas — one thinks particularly of the Democratic party and Women's Liberation — the ideas of the 1960s have actually gained ground and power in recent years.

The second crucial fact which should caution us against prematurely pronouncing the sixties dead is the presence, power, and apparently undiminished potentiality of one of the few people — perhaps even the only person, and in any event the only known person — capable of re-mobilizing the now-disorganized forces of the sixties. I refer of course to Senator Kennedy, and more importantly to the peculiar public appeal with which he is invested as the heir to his two martyred brothers and their legends — the myths of Camelot, of the Unfinished Presidency and the Unachieved Presidency, of the politics of style, of charisma, of transcendence, of glory. It is important to be clear on this: the person, method, spirit, and legend of John Kennedy were not merely a part of the sixties; they were in fact the heart of the decade, its prototype and inspiration — and the perpetuation of the Kennedy legend by the mass media, by our politicians, and by the longings and memories of us all has kept alive, even under Nixon, the active possibility of a rebirth of the sixties under the aegis of a second President Kennedy.

This possibility now seems much smaller than it did a few months ago as a result of three recent events in publishing and journalism. One of these is the publication by Random House of David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* ($10.00), a lengthy and rather supercilious polemic against the men, style, and policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. The second is the appearance of *The Kennedy Promise: The Politics of Expectation* (Doubleday, $7.95) by Henry Fairlie, the British journalist, who has written a fascinating, even-handed, but quite devastating analysis of the entire political ethos and method of the Kennedys. The third event was the *New York Times'* recent expose of a widely-known New York City "Dr. Feelgood" who, it turns out, was often in the company of President Kennedy, who routinely injected his patients with large doses of amphetamine ("speed") in order to produce a sensation of alertness, vigor, and generalized well-being, and who is known to have treated JFK on a few occasions (though with what medication, if any, has not been established).

To be sure, these are not the only recent developments in the Kennedy sector of our media industry. In November, network TV showed "Years of Lightning, Days of Drums," a cinematic potboiler in the same general adulatory vein as the films of the Nixons shown at the GOP Convention in Miami last year; it had been produced just after the assassination by the U.S.I.A. exclusively for foreign consumption and was not shown here until Congress voted to lift the restriction. And in December there appeared yet another memoir of JFK by still more of his aides/confidants/hagiographers under the embarrassingly inept (and, let it be noted in its defense, deliberately ironic) title of *Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye* — a statement which Halberstam, Fairlie, and the more suspicious readers of the *Times'* story would wholeheartedly agree with, albeit in a spirit more of asperity than of sentimentality.

What is interesting in all this is not just the appearance of an anti-Kennedy literature; it is also, and more importantly, the fact that, contrary to the pattern of the last decade, it is Halberstam's polemic rather than insiders' sentimental memoir which has risen almost to the top of the best-seller lists, and the *Times'* expose rather than "Years of Lightning" which has attracted the breathless attention of the news magazines. These facts suggest the emergence of a new phase of our national appraisal and image of the Kennedys, a phase in which the old myths not only lose their luster but are challenged by a set of counter-myths, and so inevitably a period in which the Kennedy legend becomes less and less of a national obsession. If this is indeed what is happening — and only future events will confirm or disconfirm it — then I believe that we can say that the sixties are finally coming definitively and, for the time being, irretrievably to an end.

Concerning the Halberstam and Fairlie books, there are two observations to be made. The first is that, despite the great differences between the authors' political positions and between their talents as political journalists, the themes of the two books are startlingly similar, indeed almost identical. In Halberstam it is sketched laboriously and yet crudely, while in Fairlie it emerges more elegantly and in greater detail and coherence, but in both cases the underlying message is plain: the mess in which the United States found itself in the second half of the 1960s — especially the mess in Indochina, but also the shambles into which our domestic affairs had degenerated — was the direct and ineluctable consequence of the flawed

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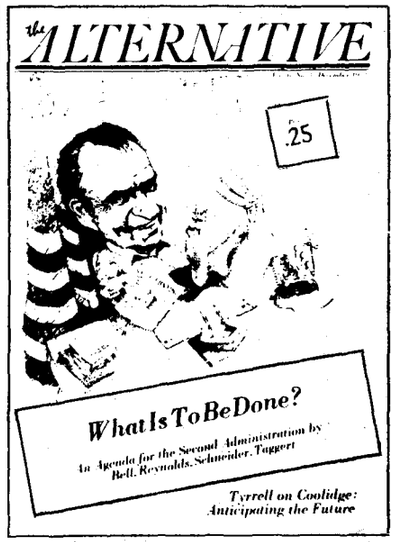
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Correspondence

To the Editor:

I've just finished reading Mr. Taggert's article in your December issue. If your magazine served no other useful purpose than to provide a forum for the development of Tom Taggerts, its publication would still be amply justified. Discovering an author of Mr. Taggert's wit, insight, and erudition helps make weathering the current conservative malaise bearable. Keep on discovering Taggerts and we'll be in good shape when our time comes.

Name Withheld
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

William Schneider's analysis of the SALT agreement and the current balance of nuclear weapons was a valuable collection of facts and figures. However, like virtually all reviews of SALT, the data was presented in a political vacuum.

The problem with most articles in the current defense debate is that they all start from the standard American view of war, i.e., total, righteous, global, and nuclear. Envisioned is a war of massive first- and second-strikes, obliterating entire societies and killing hundreds of millions of citizens. The capability to launch such a war exists, but there is no political, economic, or ideological reason why such a war should ever be fought. War is a political act, as Clausewitz noted long ago, initiated for conquest or advantage rather than for death and destruction...

The Soviet Union and Communist China undoubtably still pursue expansionist policies and hope for eventual world domination along the lines of Communist prophecy. But to assume their plans include a global-nuclear war, is to assume their leaders are fools. When the number of nuclear warheads available to each Superpower approaches 10,000, as in Mr. Schneider's figures; even a 95 percent effective first-strike will not save the aggressor's homeland from decimation.

The road to world empire, for the Communist powers, leads through a pattern of regional domination, slowly progressing across the globe.... Nuclear weapons are less than useless in this type of warfare, even if the US were emotionally geared to use them. Economic and military aid, backed by a large reserve of streamlined conventional forces are the keys to regional defense.

The SALT talks are a result of this condition. In a period of rising military costs and multiple commitments (not the least of which are domestic), both the US and the USSR need to reorder their military priorities away from strategic weapons with their limited political utility and towards those forces best suited to "limited" war. Last year the Soviets cut their ICBM construction by 90 percent and invested the money in fielding four new combat divisions, increasing tactical aircraft production and new warships.

By limiting our ABM sites to two, as agreed to in SALT, and by slowing our B-1 and ULBMS programs, an additional $5 billion can be diverted into other, more useful military programs. In conventional forces, this could mean five to six new ground combat divisions on three new aircraft carriers complete with aircraft and escort ships or twenty-seven extra tactical-fighter squadrons....

In conclusion, since all modern weapon systems have a high price tag, once a basic level of nuclear deterrence has been achieved (as has been the American case for many years), additional resources should be invested in those military forces that provide the greatest flexibility and political utility. The SALT negotiations provide an extra safeguard, in the form of agreed nuclear force levels, that can allow us to further reorient our defense programs to meet the real threats to our security interests without being constantly diverted by costly and unrewarding nuclear arms races.

Best regards,
William R. Hawkins
Kankakee, Illinois

To the Editor:

Although Ronald Docksai shows the potential for writing a good review (re: **The Impudent Snobs** — December), it is apparent and perhaps **all** of what Mr. Docksai writes is for appearances) that he has some way to go. In cataloguing the opposition to Agnew, Mr. Docksai includes a mysterious group he calls "Randists," suggesting that anyone who adheres to a coherent, consistent philosophy is a personality cultist, whereas the Vice President, who takes one step back politically for every two steps forward and keeps himself in tune with the validating "mood" of the Silent Majority — is proof against the hero worship that leads to cults...

Also of extreme interest was the review **(Eliot and His Age)** by W. Wesley MacDonald. It was of interest because it contained an inflated wealth of meaning. If the intellectual opponents of T.S. Eliot were enemies of the "permanent things," then Mr. MacDonald is an enemy of the "things that make sense." As a matter of fact, he demonstrates a spiritual kinship to Eliot in that his writings suggest a dry brain in a dry season confronted with a waste land. If, as Eliot suggests, history is an experience of many generations, a Burkian contract between the living and the dead, then it is not too difficult to see that Mr. MacDonald's efforts at reviewing represent a collusion between living intellects and those dead out of their mind...

MacDonald mentions, with a great thrift of description, a figure named Coriolan — one of the many things Mr. Eliot saw fit to condemn (But after all, if Eliot is good enough to look down on Churchill, then he is good enough to look down on most anything. Right? No?). I am interested in finding out more about this esoteric character. I'll make a deal with him. If he tells me where I can find "Coriolan," then I'll tell him where he can find the Temple of Nike Apteros...

Haven B. Gow's article "In Defense of Freedom" was more tolerable than the rest, but revealed a deficiency in that it tried to combine "freedom" as a political concept with "free will," a metaphysical-psychological concept. Since the two are not necessarily related, nor was there an attempt by Gow to show how they **can** relate, his efforts to convey a useful idea were largely wasted. In his discussion of free will, Gow suggests that the doctrine of determinism must be rejected on the strength of no better argument than that evil consequences will occur as a result of its acceptance. . . .A superior argument, brought forward by Nathaniel Branden, is that determinism is inherently unknowable and therefore absurd. Suppose men investigating determinism were determined by something other than themselves. No matter what conclusion they came to, they are precluded from certainty by the knowledge that they were **forced** to their conclusion. Since a forced perception cannot be tested (a key identifying feature of free will), statements bearing truth are accidental. Ergo, determinism is unprovable. Q.E.D...

Yours truly
Dan Bennett
North Little Rock, Arkansas

To the Editor:

May good Aeolis waft those soporific winds hither!

"Problems" and "crises," it seems, are all in the eye of the beholder. I am refreshed to learn that — in the days of a miniscule GNP, of incorrigible male chauvinism, of unabashed social, economic, and political inequality — great leaders seldom used the words.

In the thirties, we had a president who shamelessly indulged in twelve hours of sleep daily. In the sixties, our president took amphetamines so he could average four.

Ah! It's a sign of the times.

Larry Oates
Los Gatos, California

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and corrupting political styles of John F. Kennedy and the men whom he appointed to high office and whom Lyndon Johnson later inherited.

They were men of immense energy and ambition who were bent not merely on maintaining and improving the nation, but on mobilizing its powers and the sentiments of its people in behalf of strenuous new objectives. They had an overweening sense of their own capacities to shape and control events in the manner of their liking, or in conformity to their particular, expediential requirements, and they placed great stock in the methods of rational analysis and the techniques of social science; what is more, they were arrogant and contemptuous toward those who suggested their data might be inadequate or their conclusions open to doubt. According to Halberstam, whose instinct is to personalize history, the tragic flaw in these men was their personal hubris, their corresponding ignorance of the world, and their unthinking allegiance to the empty notions and slogans of the Cold War; according to Halberstam, the truth is that they were neither the best (who were really the Stevensonian liberals) nor the brightest, and the nation soon lived to pay the consequences. According to Fairlie, the flaw was not merely in the character of these men but also, and more importantly, in the political method which they used to win the 1960 election and to conduct the affairs of state — a method involving the use of crises as occasions for the mobilization of national sentiment in behalf of transcendent goals as a means of ennobling and empowering themselves. But both view the Kennedy Administration as dangerous in principle and as destructive in fact, and both sound again and again — Fairlie by making frequent references to Caesar and to the Byzantine Empire, Halberstam by emphasizing over and over the personal defects of these men —

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the theme that the Kennedy legend is not merely exaggerated, but at bottom a total fraud and a source of authentic and continuing danger for the nation as a whole.

The other observation I would offer is that these two books form an unwitting case study in the effects of the 1960s and of the Kennedy political ethos upon American public discourse. Fairlie, an Englishman, was not personally involved in or altered by the Kennedy-Johnson years; Halberstam, of course, was one of the journalists who were most intensely and frequently in the thick of events, influencing them and being influenced by them in turn. Fairlie is something like a model political journalist: he is calm and deliberate, quick to understand, scrupulous about facts and about the limitations of his evidence, attentive to institutions and doctrines as well as to personalities, aware of the nonjournalistic literature on politics yet unwilling to pose as an academic "expert" or to pretend that his knowledge is more comprehensive than it can legitimately claim to be, and concerned above all not so much to move his readers to action as to inform them and to move them to thought. Halberstam, by contrast, though he writes a good enough story, reveals a series of journalistic vices which almost precisely parallel the vices he identifies in the Kennedy men: he is arrogant toward his subject matter, tending to argue against those with whose judgments he disagrees simply by belittling them and by making them seem contemptible; he assumes a pose of omniscience, reporting as fact things he cannot possibly know to be fact and revealing not the slightest doubt about his evidence or his subject matter, not even the merest uncertainty about the character of the men or the exact identity and sequence of the events he describes at such tedious lengths; for him as for the Kennedy men, style and personality is all there is in politics, institutions and "objective conditions" don't exist; and perhaps most importantly, for him the evident object of writing is to tell a "good story," i.e., one that will mobilize people in behalf of his position and against opposing positions, that will help him and his friends and harm his enemies. This is not to say that Halberstam is a liar or a fraud — clearly he is neither. But my reaction to his work is rather like his and Fairlie's reaction to the Kennedy Administration; one does not trust it to be honest, to be reliable, to have been guided at all times by the aims that are appropriate to the activity he is engaged in, to maintain a clear distinction in his own mind between the world of affairs on the one hand, and the world of wishes, dreams, and illusions on the other.

In the end, however, the fate of the Kennedy legend and of the spirit of the 1960s rests less with these books than it does with the impact of the *Times'* expose's innuendo, and less with all of these than it does with us. Books can sometimes educate or crystallize opinion; exposes can create doubts or stimulate revulsion. But events in the public discourse are no more than signs of future possibilities, and whether these come to pass depends, in the last analysis, upon us. Eleanor Roosevelt once said of John Kennedy that she wished he would show a little less profile and a little more courage. Unless you are quite certain that, deep down, we all share her preference, don't be too sure that the Kennedy mystique is in fact dead, and don't be too surprised if, in 1980, when you look back, you decide that the seventies weren't so very different from the sixties after all. □

Book Review

Beyond Science and Behaviorism

The End of the Modern Age
by Allen Wheelis
Basic Books, $5.95

The Science of Behavior and the Image of Man
by Isidor Chein
Basic Books, $12.50

It is ironic that at the same time that science has made such startling advances, there exists so much eloquent and outraged protest against the scientific world view which furnishes the theoretical basis for the scientific enterprise. Peter Berger, for example, devoted much of his work, *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective*, to a blistering attack on this world view. "Since," he wrote, "science is an almost sacred entity among Americans in general and American academicians in particular, the desire to emulate the procedures of the older natural sciences is very strong among the newcomers in the marketplace of erudition. Giving into this desire, the experimental psychologists, for instance, have succeeded to such an extent that their studies have commonly nothing more to do with anything human beings are or do."

Other works as critical of scientism have appeared in recent years and the list continues to grow. Theodore Roszak, for example, documents in *The Making of a Counterculture* the alienation that results when a society begins viewing everything — including man — "scientifically." Peter Berger came out with yet another book — this one, *A Rumor of Angels* — in which he argued for a resuscitation of religious rather than "scientific" explanations for things that we think, feel, and do. And with the publication of Allen Wheelis' latest work, we now can add *The End of the Modern Age* to his impressive list.

"The vision of the Modern Age," Wheelis tells us, "is a Promethean leap in pride." This "leap in pride," he continues, is made manifest by the belief that reason, unaided by faith and unchecked by moral authority can resolve the riddles of the universe. According to the Modern Age, all that reason requires is the proper path to knowledge and truth — and that avenue is the method of positive science. The result, says Wheelis, is the belief that "it is possible not only to know the world, but to test that knowledge, to verify it, to prove it beyond any doubt...."

Science, therefore, claims the Modern Age, achieves knowledge of great certitude, while the faiths of man, acting through tradition, "no longer seem deserving of the status of knowledge. Their dearth of certitude relegates them to an inferior realm, arbitrary, passionate, irrational, stained by time and place, incapable of mathematical expression."

But in this divinization of science one embarrassing truth is neglected: Man does not (and cannot) live by the bread of scientific method alone. He must deal with love and hate, life and death in his everyday experience; he must make conjectures of great importance which might or might not be true and which do not lend themselves to experiments in the laboratory: Man possesses freedom and dignity; we should love our neighbors as ourselves; there is a God and He loves us; we are morally accountable for our deeds. Such propositions cannot be avoided; we need to ascertain if they are true, whether to believe, and whether to act upon them. And, as Whellis correctly observes, the "scientific method is no help, for by their nature these matters lie forever beyond the realm of science." Indeed, one crucial conjecture that we must face concerns science itself: "The long range influence of science will be good for mankind. This is not a scientific hypothesis the credibility of which can be established by certain crucial experiments. It is a hope, a wish, a statement of faith; it may or may not be true."

To be sure, the credibility of such a hypothesis cannot be ascertained by "giant computers" or in "gleaming laboratories." Indeed, as Wheelis trenchantly observes, "All the great and fundamental questions are answered, if at all, only by leap of heart, by deepest feeling, by faith." What is life all about? Is it worth living? What is the good life for man? Who is my neighbor, and should I love him and be concerned with his suffering? Can science adequately deal, if at all, with these questions? Unfortunately, when we ask these questions we find, Wheelis tells us, that "The computers are silent, the test tubes do not react to these queries, and he who concerns himself with them might do better in church than in a laboratory, and the church might better be a forest glade, if any such are left, than the temple of a third sect."

Like *The End of the Modern Age*, Isidor Chein's work attacks the presumption of those intellectuals who identify reason with science. In fact, claims Chein, in his own field of psychology those who assume that the method

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of positive science is the only valid way to grasp truth and reality predominate. Few psychologists, he tells us, even the most dedicated and gifted, pause to reflect upon the metaphysical presuppositions of their positions. Few, indeed, are aware (or willing to acknowledge) that their "scientific" positions are based upon such metaphysical assumptions as "Knowledge is good" and "Extra-mental reality does exist," assumptions without which the scientific enterprise would be meaningless.

One issue which continues to agitate social scientists involves "freedom" and "dignity," and when they expound on this issue they — consciously or unconsciously — reveal their metaphysical biases. B.F. Skinner, for example, tells us in the Spring issue of *Center* magazine that he can avoid metaphysical judgments when he formulates his positions on freedom, dignity, and the nature of man. Discussing his best-selling book, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, Skinner discloses that it "tries to analyze the behavior of those who have taken part in the struggle of freedom. I do not think it is metaphysical when it raises the question of whether the individual is really worthy of credit or admiration, or whether he is responsible for what he does. . .I am not concerned about those who think I am being amateurish as a metaphysician, because I am not engaging in metaphysics."

Chein, however, is not philosophically naive; his commitment to science does not blind him to the fact that metaphysical presuppositions and judgments permeate any attempt to develop a valid position on freedom. Consequently, Chein spends much of his time disposing of the notion that a proper respect for science requires that the social scientist view man as a robot whose responses are completely determined by forces beyond his control. In attempting to do so, Chein examines various theories of freedom, and even tries to develop a viable theory of his own. His discussion is well-intentioned; but perhaps because he, as a social scientist, is restricted by the limitations of science itself, his formulation fails to satisfy.

Haven Bradford Gow

EDITORIAL I

(continued from page 3)

cities, bring mayhem and murder to students and faculty. It was even rumored that the Nixon crowd was going to suspend the 1972 elections. And through it all *les enrages* could gather bilious inspiration from a maladroitly run war of questionable usefulness. It was during these years that everything became a crisis. Everyone slogged in guilt.

Well, the 1972 elections were not called off — much to the misfortune of the candidate of the New Politics. And in his campaign he distilled all the rhetorical enormities, the desperation, the slovenly thought and bad manners into a campaign that can be most precisely characterized as impudent, slanderous, and inept — even for an American election. The citizenry gave him the old heave ho. And now the crusade has lost some of its gas. For how long I do not know. What I do know is that today some of their old brag and bounce seems to have evaporated.

But important questions remain concerning Puritan Chic. An abnormally high proportion of the advocates of the New Age were supposedly well-educated. Fully thirty-one per cent of the performers on the floor of the Democratic Convention had done some sort of graduate work; in fact, the New Politics is regularly described as an alliance embracing — among other oppressed classes — "intellectuals." So why did such a supposedly well-educated slice of the American people address itself so unseriously to such serious matters? Democratic process is a serious matter as are lawlessness, income distribution, foreign policy, and social problems such as poverty and ecology. Why were they not treated seriously by people so famous for their pretentions to seriousness?

Many of Puritan Chic's select are members of a technical and professional elite that has very little understanding of how it came to be elite. Many whack down voluptuous salaries, and more are insulated in corporate or academic positions which demand little responsibility or contact with the more obstreperous realities of the outside world or the world of the common man. But these people are bored, tantalized by power, and not terribly intelligent — though many are talented and some are "brilliant." They are peculiar creatures of liberal America's late twentieth-century corporate society. Denied all those security mechanisms relied upon by yokels of the past, coated by a thin uncomfortable veneer of intellectuality, and burdened with vast leisure time and disposable income, they itch for a Great Cause that does not demand much prudence. In sum, they are the perfect suckers, and the ideologues have been preying on their vulnerability.

They have been called the New Class — a term, I gather, deriving somehow from Milovan Djilas' term for the bureaucratic pests who reign in the progressive paradises of eastern Europe. Irving Kristol explains their unserious approach to politics as a preference for "symbolic politics." And Norman Podhoretz suggests their hypocrisy when he contrasts their protestations to idealism and enlightenment with the historic record. As he says, "...the New Class is capable of supreme ruthlessness in its pursuit of power, it has consistently given its own ambitions not only for power but for status and wealth as well, the benefit of every conceivable doubt while excoriating or making fun of the needs and wishes of others and putting them always in the most highly unfavorable light." But still something needs to be added if we are to understand why they have treated serious matters unseriously.

The New Class, or Puritan Chic as I choose to call it, is best understood as political folderol. Its politics and morality are imbecilic. Not one of Puritan Chic's principles or proposals can be adhered to for long without slamming chin first into a contradiction. No wonder its members are so sciolistic and unserious about policy. How, for instance, can one oppose racism while advocating quotas? How can one favor increased wealth for the poor without supporting economic growth? How can one reasonably expect an improved environment without encouraging scientific research? And of course, how can one talk of expanding freedom while wishing away one of the greatest extirpators of freedom in modern times, communism? A list of their contradictions would run for pages.

The pronunciamentos of Puritan Chic sound like winds whistling through the empty skull of an idiot. Members of Puritan Chic are not serious about politics, and they do not have to be serious about politics. They are rarely in positions where they can be held accountable for their inanity. And when they do break from their institutional cocoons into a position of responsibility, they merely pass the buck, an easy matter of obfuscation and allegation in an age whose public discourse encourages procrastination. But every now and again they find they cannot evade reality, and the consequences of their rhetoric and wobblings swat them down. One of their leaders, the great Clod Populist himself, blundered into such a fix on November 7. The result was disaster, and now there is dubiety within the ranks. It seems to be the only way to smarten up a chump.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

THE CONTINUING CRISIS

(continued from page 2)

tention to subject suspected drug users to urine tests. Constitutional process has worked swiftly in Kampale, Uganda where the aggressive young President Idi Amin has signed a decree empowering the government to ban any newspaper for a "specified or indefinite period." From Paris comes word that the dynamic Ministry of Education is allowing French students to use ball-point and even felt pens. A new openness has crept into stolid Britain. Attired solely in his natural pelt, Mayor Geoffrey Domson of Spenborough went swimming with 100 members of the International Naturist Federation to dedicate a new $720,000 natatorium, and in Oxford young Master Quigby Catternal entered the Dewdrip Pub for a pint of ardent spirits, clad only in a pair of risque black boots. Finally from New York we hear that the Long Island Railroad is again running, but so are the police.

THE MOVEMENT: The Rev. Philip Berrigan was released from stir; Mr. Tommy Rettig, the child actor of the 1950s who appeared as Lassie's master on television, was arrested for possession of marijuana; *The New York Times* alleges that Dr. Max Jacobson tried to turn President Kennedy into a speed freak; and a record $122,000 was paid for a Holstein cow in Amenia, New York. The FBI arrested Mr. H. Bruce Franklin, former Stanford University professor, and five other idealistic young people for allegedly harboring Mr. Ronald W. Beaty, a convicted felon. The Food and Drug Administration has recalled those gonorrhea test kits manufactured by the U.S. Packaging Corporation of LaPorte, Indiana. Mrs. Cathleen Douglas, wife of Justice William O. Douglas,

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"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad"– Euripides

Current Wisdom

COLLEGIATE CHATAQUA

The Hon. Stuart Udal offers a little mush while massaging the involved students of Indiana University:

We're throwing away what we've always prided ourselves on — the ability to help other peoples. We've become a gluttonous, greedy nation acquiring wealth we do not need, and as we do this, we extinguish the hopes of other, poorer nations.

—Bloomington Courier Tribune

THE LIFE OF THE MIND

The state of intellectual inquiry amongst the effete slobs of The Saturday Review:

What makes a really grand hotel? Not the coolest daiquiris or the latest electonic shoe cleaners. To be suitable for James Bond or for conventioners in funny hats — or to have plumbing that works — is not enough. A grand hotel just is.

—The Saturday Review

A BLOW FOR IMPARTIALITY

After the highly motivated young Palestinian guerillas slaughtered Israeli athletes in Munich, a leading Arab gazette proferred an example of that incomparable logic now celebrated as a hallmark of the high-minded radical:

Public opinion has always been against the Arabs, never taking their side. . . into consideration. So public opinion needs a sharp blow to become impartial.

— Al Moharrer

THE SCIENCE AND TOMMYROT OF POLITICS

America the Beautiful as seen by Dr. James McGregor Burns, political scientist and holy roller:

The nation is essentially evil and the evil can be exorcised only by turning the system upside down.

—Uncommon Sense (Harper & Row)

USEFUL READINGS

Tripping with an NYR muse:

Henry Kissinger is the true hero of the present mood, the knight of the ideal. He never brushes against the local, the familiar, the merely national. He is not even married and thus is as far from the domestic as a knight-ruler can be. He lives in a blue void, floating through the skies of the world, his streamers saying Power and Foreign Policy drifting gorgeously behind him.

—Elizabeth Hardwick
The New York Review of Books

THE RACKETS

Having received the boot from his old concession at The Saturday Review, Mr. Norman Cousins now sets up a new tent to fleece high-brow yokelry with the same old dubious potion — a transparent swindle which the gullible oafs applaud!:

What about the magazine itself?

The central editorial idea behind WORLD is that the biggest change of our time has happened inside the human mind. People think of themselves not just as Americans or Russians or Chinese or Japanese, but as members of a human race now dependent on the same earth life-support system. They have an instinctive sense that their national governments are no longer able to perform their historic function, which is to protect their lives, their values, their property, and even their culture.

And they know, therefore, that new world institutions have to be created to perform these.

—WORLD Magazine

THOSE CHAUVINIST ERASERS

Assistant professor Jerry Bigner reveals the advanced state of scientific inquiry at Indiana University:

We know kids will sex-type objects anyway because of our culture. For instance, he said children identify chalk as female and an eraser as male.

Bigner said he didn't think it was "so wrong" to give children toys to match their sexes, but parents can go overboard by denying a son a doll or a girl a gun.

—Bloomington Courier-Tribune

ADULT READING

Dr. Gary Wills practices new modes of thought and expression with modern English in his syndicated column for modern minds:

Pen, penis, car, gun — one will vindicate the other, even at the cost of his own life. While thoughts of "a few bullets raced thru my head," he gunned his rattletrap car even faster toward a rendezvous with Nixon in Canda: "I did over 90 once or twice — danger gave me an erection." He would force himself in on people's attention, get it through, be the ultimate lover-rejector, no longer the rejected: "To wear white tie and tails & get Nixon — boy, WOW!" It was the only orgasm left him, and it would dwarf all the little wooings and lover-boy doings of gas station attendants and museum guards. Don Juan, the lady-killer, in white tie and tails. He goes to meet Nixon and fate "dressed in my vested conservative business suit and overcoat with gun and tie..."

—Gary Wills

AS YOU LIKE IT

The state of political analysis amongst the American Sophists:

McGovern prefers to discuss the "real," political issues. Thus Eagleton was dropped lest his medical career distract the public from the "real" issues — Nixon's record, the war, the economy.

—Christopher Lasch
The New York Review of Books

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY

Progress in social science brought about by the wonderful intelligentsia at Ms:

Unfortunately, as we are all aware, toys follow the prevailing values of society. Sexist toys will be with us until toymakers decide that there is no longer a market for them — until our culture recognizes women in other roles than housekeeper, hostess, mother, seductress.

—Ms.

MEMOIRS

An exciting revelation from the American Casanova:

Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac.

—Henry Kissinger
ABC Radio News

TRAVELOGUE

The distinguished historian, Clair Sterling, elucidates some of the unsung benefits of the Middle Ages:

. . .Unlike the opulent West, China does not abound in the more profligate kinds of waste: plastic containers, tin cans, old cards and cast off refrigerators.

—The Washington Post

STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS

A complicated analysis gives way to a reformer's homily in but one more stirring moment of television's literary hour:

Seven members of Congress are running for president now and until some dropped out there were ten running. Well, they don't believe they can run for president while remaining in Washington on the Senate floor. They feel a need to speak at political dinners, to sit at the head table behind a spray of chrysanthemums, eating chicken and green peas and to keep reaching across the table to shake hands, while dragging their coat-sleeves through the mashed potatoes, going to county fairs to pat the pumpkins and going to more elegant functions given by rich people who might give them money.

— David Brinkley
NBC News

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passed the District of Columbia bar examination. Twenty brothers at Sing Sing have started a Jaycee chapter. And according to the FBI there were eighty-four bombings and attempted bombings in the United States during November. Mr. Bugsy Siegal's Flamingo Hotel floor safe was finally opened. It contained nothing. But real progress was made on the feminist front when the Bank of America announced it is ending its long-standing practice of paying taxicab fares for women who start or end work at night, and this obvious remnant of sex discrimination was actually pointed out by progressive male employees, a significant sign of the movement's progress. In Philadelphia, an eighty-four-year-old widow is recovering from five days of captivity during which four youths ranging from ten to thirteen years of age beat her with broomsticks, raped, tortured, and burned her, and robbed her of her savings of $229. Francis Gary Powers is now an airborne traffic spotter for a Los Angeles radio station. And the movement really picked up steam in North Adams, Massachusetts where protesters stole a figurine of the Christ child from a Catholic church nativity scene. They will hold it in custody until the church speaks out against the bombing in Vietnam. Finally Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman were expelled from the Youth International Party for wanton capitalism.

AMERICANA: The National Kraut Packers Association has named presidential aide Henry A. Kissinger "Kraut Character of the Year." Mr. Archie Keller installed a parking meter in the bathroom of his Sacramento home. In Charlestown, West Virginia's Tom Andrews, 11, claimed a new world record for clapping. And a group of Cambridge, Ohio businessmen, possessed of a spiritual afflatus, are planning a $30 million Biblelands—complete with camel rides, fishing in the Sea of Galilee, and side trips to the land of milk and honey—all based on Disneyland. Mr. Adolph Hitler's $2 million parade car was auctioned off January 6 in Scottsdale, Arizona. According to a Gallup Poll, Mrs. Pat Nixon is the most admired woman in America, followed by Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower. And while attending the launching of Apollo 17, Mr. Charlie Smith, the 130-year-old ex-slave recently discovered in Bartow, Florida, expressed his doubt that the contraption is real, adding philosophically that "I'd rather be home in bed." Finally, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare published a study that should cause medical science a great deal of rethinking. According to the survey, the second most prevalent chronic condition of the body's muscular-skeletal system is corns and calluses.

MINOR NOTATIONS: Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is leaving Harvard for the American Embassy in India. On December 7 the Apollo 17 blasted-off to the moon, landing on December 11 and returning to Earth on December 18. The Labor parties won in New Zealand and Australia for the first time in many years. Mr. Kissinger informed the press on December 16 that Hanoi and Washington "have not yet reached an agreement that the President sees as just and fair," and two days later American air planes began the heaviest bombing of North Vietnam ever. The President will continue wage and press controls beyond April 30. The more reasonable wing of the Democratic party showed Mrs. Jean Westwood the door. Robert Strauss and George Bush, both from Texas, are the new National Chairmen of the Democratic and Republican parties respectively. And on December 31 President Nixon ordered a halt to the blitz over North Vietnam above the 20th parallel. Peace talks resumed January 8.

FOR THE NONCE: *The New York Times* reports that stewardesses are becoming "radicalized," having established a Stewardess' Anti-Defamation Defense League. And in Cuba, Christmas will be celebrated for the last time on January 6 (the traditional day in "Catholic" Cuba), according to the Revolutionary Orientation Commission. □

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